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NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

NOTICE TO READERS: The United States Government recognizes the independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

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Arms Control & Disarmament

Obukhov Discusses Soviet, U.S. Arms Talks

OW0412173391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Report on interview with Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksey Obukhov by "Diplomatic Panorama" correspondents Mikhail Mayorov and Igor Porshnev; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "We gave the American delegation firm assurances to the effect that all Soviet nuclear weapons wvere under centralized control and their sanctioned use was impossible," USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksey Obukhov said in an exclusive interview he gave DP [Diplomatic Panorama]. Mr Obukhov led the Soviet delegation at the consultations in Washington on November 25-26 on the reduction of nuclear armaments within the framework of the proposals of presidents George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev.

Mr Obukhov said both sides had confirmed their resolution to do everything within their power to ensure complete implementation of the proposals. They were clearly aware that following a good example was a good way to accelerate the reduction of nuclear arsenals, naturally if this were combined with agreements that would be reached in the course of negotiations.

Issues Dealt With

According to the Deputy Foreign Minister, the issues discussed included some on which no mutual understanding had yet been achieved although both presidents bring them up in their proposals. There were matters on which both sides took completely identical positions and were working to implement them. But there were also some involving points which had yet to be clarified and on which joint programmes of action had yet to be worked out.

What the USSR Had To Suggest

The Soviet delegation suggested that both sides remove all nuclear ammunition from their tactical air force units and instal it on some centralized bases, for this would be an important step towards the aversion of the nuclear threat. In his speech on October 5 President Gorbachev also suggested that both sides stop the manufacture of fissionable materials for military purposes and that such a measure be subjected to mutual inspection.

The American delegation informed the Soviet one that these proposals were being considered by the Administration which would subsequently give the Soviet side its opinion of them.

What the USA Had To Suggest

The American delegation, which was led by the Deputy Secretary of State, Mr Reginald Bartholomew, again brought up the issue of a so- called limited non-nuclear anti-missile defence system.

"We need complete clarity here," said Mr Obukhov. "The Soviet side is willing to give consideration to the American proposal, but this doesn't yet mean we accept it."

We were ready to try and work out our basic attitude towards it and give our assessment of it, but we needed additional explanations which we were given in the course of the consultations," he said. "These explanations are now being analyzed, but we might have more questions later on, which means the consideration will take longer."

What the Americans were especially interested in, according to Mr Obukhov, the American side was particularly interested in whatever concerned the safe handling of nuclear weapons, control of them and their safe transportation and destruction. The U.S. delegation made a few proposals which were interesting from Mr Obukhov's point of view and were brought to Moscow. These are also being analyzed and will subsequently be dealt with by experts since "they bring up very specific matters which have to be handled not only by diplomats but also by people actually working in those particular fields."

The American delegation offered the USSR assistance in the safe storage and destruction of nuclear weapons, for which the USA is willing to allocate funds, but the concrete scale and forms of such assistance will be decided on after the USSR has specified its requirements.

The Republics' Participation Was Not Purely Formal

According to Mr Obukhov, the participation of the representatives from the four sovereign nuclear republics, Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Byelarus [Belorussia], was "by no means purely formal", no more so than it had been in Moscow. They took active part in the discussions and made a substantial contribution to results achieved.

What the U.S. delegation was most eager to know was whether the former Union republics were willing to stick to the commitments assumed by the USSR in accordance with the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe and the START Treaty, in which connection both the central Foreign Ministry and those of the republics assured the Americans that all the commitments would be observed, said Mr Obukhov.

The American delegation wondered if the treaties would be ratified by the republics. The Ukrainian representative said they would and offered the American side the decisions to that effect taken by his republic's parliament and government.

The Next Round of Consultations

This will apparently be held in Moscow but the date has not yet been decided on, said Mr Obukhov.

U.S. Disarmament Viewed

LD0412183291 Moscow TASS in English
0850 GMT 4 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Surzhanskiy]

[Text] Moscow December 4 TASS—The United States is still not ready to stop nuclear tests and join the unilateral moratorium announced by the USSR, but it believes the reduction of nuclear stockpiles will influence the U.S. nuclear arms tests programme, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksey Obukhov told TASS.

The U.S. will begin dismantling its nuclear warheads in the first half of 1992 and complete the task by 1997, said Obukhov, who led the Soviet delegation at the Soviet-American consultations on nuclear disarmament, held recently in Washington. The Soviets plan to eliminate some 15,000 nuclear warheads, encompassing a much greater scope. Naval tactical weapons will be eliminated by 1995 and warheads of tactical missiles by 2000. The difference in time is explained by the greater scope of work in the USSR.

According to the Soviet diplomat, both the Soviet and American delegations reaffirmed the allegiance of their respective countries to the Soviet-American statement of June 1, 1990 concerning future talks on nuclear and space weapons. They also supported further consolidation of strategic stability, which allows the resumption of the negotiating process on this subject "without unnecessary delays."

Representatives of all the republics possessing nuclear weapons, specifically, Russia, Belorussia, the Ukraine and Kazakhstan, took part in the consultations. They reiterated their allegiance to the concept of "centralised nuclear control," Obukhov said.

Nuclear Weapons 'Key' Subject for Baker Visit

LD0512101691 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service
in English 2210 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Vladislav Kozyakov commentary]

[Text] Control over the Soviet nuclear weapons will be the key subject of the discussions during the American Secretary of State James Baker's visit to Moscow and Kiev later this month. Vladislav Kozyakov has prepared this commentary:

This problem is very important both for the Soviet and American peoples and for the whole of the world. One of America's military observers has pointed out that if the independent Ukraine took control over the nuclear weapons on its territory, it would immediately become the world's third nuclear power. More nuclear powers may emerge as former Soviet republics, on whose territory nuclear weapons are deployed, could claim complete sovereignty and independence from the Union. What is the way to avoid such a dangerous prospect? The Ukrainian leaders stress their desire for a nonnuclear status, and adherence to all agreements on nuclear weapons signed by the Soviet Union. Despite the importance of these statements, they must be confirmed by guarantees, especially in such issues which need consent not only of the former Soviet republics but of the whole world community. The world needs such decisions which could guarantee a single control over the Soviet nuclear weapons, preventing the appearance of more nuclear powers. The ideal way to resolve the problem would be to replace the former union with a new confederation of sovereign states. According to President Gorbachev, a failure of the new Union treaty would speed up the disintegration of the nation and that may turn into a disaster for the whole [of] mankind.

A meeting of Russian, Belarussian, and Ukrainian leaders during Saturday [30 November] in Minsk, as well as a proposal of the Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, to exercise joint control over strategic nuclear weapons deployed in Russia, Belorussia, Kazakhstan, and the Ukraine will undoubtedly contribute to the search of mutuallly acceptable solutions. At the same time, the United States and other NATO member countries could help settle a number of problems by giving technical assistance for the destruction of 130 missiles in the Ukraine stipulated by the Soviet-American START treaty. Even after this is done, the Ukraine will still have 46 strategic missiles and 30 long-range bombers. The position of the Ukraine is that the arsenals should be dismantled. But this will depend on the future cuts in nuclear weapons in Russia and other countries.

Union Ready To Show 'Flexibility' at Talks

LD0412165291 Moscow TASS in English
1613 GMT 4 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Smelov]

[Text] Vienna December 4 TASS—The negotiations on confidence-building measures and improving security in Europe discussed here today three proposals on the limitation of military activities of member states of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The proposals were put forward by Austria, Hungary and Poland, the Soviet Union and NATO states.

The proposals have much in common, primarily the suggestion to limit the number of military arrangements involving over 40,000 soldiers.

The authors of the three documents proceed from the fact that such arrangements should be conducted only in extraordinary cases, and no more often than once in two or three years with a two-year preliminary notification.

The Soviet and NATO proposals have a similar provision on the limitation of the number of military arrangements, involving over 25,000 soldiers.

Other similar suggestions have also been made, although differences remain, mainly those connected with the establishment of specific parameters to limit military activities.

For instance, the Soviet Union calls for the establishment of a maximum level of 75,000 men for any such activity. The NATO proposal does not contain such a suggestion.

The Soviet Union considers it necessary to introduce limitations in three areas: personnel, combat tanks and APCs [armored personnel carriers]. Whereas the NATO proposals say nothing about APCs.

There are some other differences, some more substantial, though not intransigent.

As for the Soviet side, it is ready to show necessary flexibility in order to achieve a mutually acceptable agreement, acting head of the Soviet delegation to the negotiations, Vyacheslav Kulebyakin, told TASS.

In particular, we are ready to agree on lower parameters for military activities, involving over 40,000 men, to be carried out once in two years: 600 tanks instead of 800, and 900 APCs instead of 1,500.

Additional parameters for the maximum level of arrangements, involving over 75,000 men, 900 tanks and 1,500 APCs, could be established.

This would enable a considerable rapprochement between the Soviet and Austrian, Hungarian and Polish proposals, and, thus, expand mutual understanding.

Kulebyakin expressed hope this step will encourage other sides to take efforts for an early compromise with respect to the interests and considerations of various states-participants in the negotiations.

Thermonuclear Reactor Experiment Detailed

92UF0270A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
19 Nov 91 Union Edition p 2

[Article by S. Leskov: "There Is No Doubt About It, the Thermonuclear Reaction Will Work"]

[Text] **IZVESTIYA reported recently on the signing in Moscow of cooperation agreement to work on the ITER technical project for an international thermonuclear experimental reactor. It will be the largest international technical project in the history of mankind, in which the United States, Japan, the European Community, and the USSR will participate.**

Although the agreement has been more than a year in the making, its rapid signing was helped by a sensation in Oxford on Saturday: Using the JET installation it was possible to achieve a thermonuclear reaction rated at about two megawatts. From the standpoint of the theory, the result was a long time coming after many years of failure that lessened optimism about thermonuclear reactions. They had even started to say that "Tokamak" was the greatest scientific adventure since "flying saucers" and biological auras. And now—a grand success that has overcome the doubts of the skeptics.

Naturally there was enormous interest in the presence in the European delegation of the director of the JET project, Professor Paul-Henri Rebyut. According to the scientist it is still premature to ask about lighting lamps with the "Tokamak." The sensational experiment on 9 November required more energy input than was generated. But we should not be too severe on the first practical step toward mastering a fundamentally new energy source—a source that is the cleanest and safest of all known sources. Moreover, sad though it may be, we had nothing to do with this step. Professor Paul-Henri Rebyut expressed regret that the USSR had not been part of the JET project, in which scientists from 14 countries had taken part.

To make up for this we are cooperating in another international project—the ITER project, which has brought together all the best forces, without exception. Even the richest countries understand that alone they can neither build nor even plan an installation like a thermonuclear reactor. The ITER project provides food for thought not only for the "technical people" but also the politicians. While in the USSR the desire to pull apart everything on a national basis is growing, the developed countries are setting an example of the transnational economy, which increases mutual potential many times over. Even Japan, which has announced that during the next decade it will independently "settle" the thermonuclear reaction, has deemed it best to join the world community.

ITER is an example for us in another way, also, as it relates to spending for science in the developed countries. All those participating in the project, except for the USSR, have been insistently proposing that the work areas for planning the various assemblies of the reactor be located on their own territories. And indeed, it is difficult to assess the expected costs. (Already today, at the first stage of the "Tokamak" study 1 billion rubles will be "devoured" in the first year). As to when there will be any profit, or whether indeed there will be any at all, is another question. But experience shows that the economic side effect from the development of modern technologies will exceed costs, no matter what fate awaits the scientific idea itself.

Following a debate it was decided to locate the project bases for ITER in the FRG, the United States, and Japan, where experts from all participating countries will work. By mutual agreement, spending by the USSR is rather more modest, but we will ensure work on the Moscow headquarters for ITER, regardless that we are serving the "brains" on other territories. In addition, some of our plants may be earmarked to manufacture particular assemblies for the thermonuclear reactor.

So how many years will the research take? And when will energy from the "Tokamaks" be fed to the light bulbs? According to the head of the USSR delegation B. Nikipelov, first deputy minister for atomic power and industry, it will take five or six years to design the reactor. It is only halfway through this period that the place where it will be assembled will be decided. The same time will also be spent on building an experimental reactor. The next stage is demonstration reactors. In the opinion of Academician Ye. Velikhov, the first industrial thermonuclear power stations may not appear for another 50 years. Not that soon, but according to the predictions it is precisely then that mankind will begin to experience difficulties with the traditional energy sources.

How safe are thermonuclear reactors? The experts say that they are in principle harmless, but those same assurances were once given about nuclear reactors, which are incomparably simpler. Let us hope that the experience gained in the operation of the nuclear power stations will teach us to be more responsible about this very important problem, and that we will not fall under the spell of formulas, which can always be cited.

Worldwide Issues

Spokesman Notes Gorbachev-Bush Discussion

LD0312162591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1540 GMT 3 Dec 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Andrey Pershin]

[Text] Moscow, 3 Dec (TASS)—The subjects discussed during a telephone conversation between the Presidents of the USSR and United States on 30 November, which has already been reported in the press, were mentioned at a briefing by Andrey Grachev, press secretary for the head of the Soviet state, in Moscow today. He particularly highlighted the fact that during the conversation Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush discussed the situation that had arisen in the sphere of mutual understanding between Moscow and Washington and had been "to some extent aggravated through the fault of the press, which reported various kinds of unofficial and semiofficial nuances in the stance of the American administration on the eve of the referendum in the Ukraine." "Leaks" disseminated in the United States had at one time, in the press secretary's words, caused the Soviet leadership bewilderment. However, the conversation between the two leaders had enabled the two sides' positions to be clarified and mutual understanding to be achieved.

It was noted at the briefing that during the telephone conversation, information concerning the specific decisions proposed by the USSR State Council in pursuit of a way out of the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan had met with understanding and support on the part of the U.S. President.

Andrey Grachev also said that Mikhail Gorbachev today had a telephone conversation with German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Churkin Holds Information Directorate Briefing

Emigration of Nuclear Specialists Viewed

LD0412173391 Moscow TASS in English 1722 GMT 4 Dec 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksey Tabachnikov and Vladimir Suprun]

[Text] Moscow December 4 TASS—The Soviet Union is strictly abiding by the treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, including the inadmissibility of use of the country's scientific and intellectual potential to the detriment of the international regime formed on the basis of this treaty.

That is why the Soviet Union understands the international community's concern over the possible emigration of nuclear specialists from the Soviet Union, head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate Vitaliy Churkin told a briefing here today.

The current Soviet legal practice limits the emigration of specialists and scientists, who have helped to create the Soviet nuclear potential, Churkin explained.

The Soviet Union is ready to cooperate with all interested states in order to prevent a use of the world's intellectual and scientific potential going against the principles of non-proliferation of nuclear arms.

Belonogov To Attend Mideast Talks

LD0412181991 Moscow TASS in English 1750 GMT 4 Dec 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksey Tabachnikov and Vladimir Suprun]

[Text] Moscow December 4 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Belonogov is expected to leave for Washington on December 5 to represent the Soviet Union as co-chair of the Middle East peace conference, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vitaliy Churkin told a news briefing here today.

Belonogov will hold consultations in Washington about the multilateral ministerial-level meeting in Moscow scheduled for January 28-29, 1992.

Agreement on this meeting was reached on Tuesday [3 December] during a telephone conversation between Eduard Shevardnadze and James Baker.

According to Churkin, consultations have already begun to specify the list of participants in Moscow's meeting and its agenda.

Islamic Conference Invites Soviet Muslims

PM0412125791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Dec 91 Union Edition p 4

[IZVESTIYA Press Service report: "Islamic Conference Organization Forum Awaits Muslims from Former USSR"]

[Text] The ICO [Islamic Conference Organization] leadership has sent invitations to all the Muslim republics of the former Soviet Union to participate in the work of the organization's next, sixth summit meeting, scheduled to open 9 December in Dakar, capital of Senegal.

Created in 1969 on the initiative of Saudi Arabia, the ICO unites 45 Muslim states with a population of approximately 1.1 billion people. Meetings are held at foreign minister level annually, while summit meetings within the ICO framework are held once every three years. The main problem discussed at this organization's forums in the eighties was the Iran-Iraq war. During those years, the USSR was sharply criticized by the ICO for its military intervention in Afghanistan. In 1988 the participants in the Amman foreign ministers' conference welcomed M.S. Gorbachev's statement of readiness to withdraw the troops from that country.

The ICO is showing a natural interest in the first official participation by Muslim delegations from the former Soviet Union. According to statements by ICO officials, in the event of any of the Soviet Muslim republic's applying for membership of the organization, this request will be considered most attentively. According to news agency reports, a number of the former Union's Muslim republics are showing an interest in joining the ICO, although so far none of them has said so officially.

Invitations to participate in the Dakar summit meeting have been distributed to all the organization's members. The majority of the heads of the ICO member states are expected to attend. The opinion is being expressed among Arab diplomats that Saddam Husayn is likely to be among the leaders staying away, since he has not traveled outside Iraq since Baghdad's defeat in the Persian Gulf war.

Disputes affecting Muslim countries and regions will be discussed in Dakar, particularly the problems of Afghanistan, Cyprus, India, the Philippines, and Somalia. Traditional questions of the position and rights of Muslim communities and minorities in the world will also be on the agenda.

Iran, Turkey Seek 'Influence' Over Muslims

PM0412162591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Dec 91 Union Edition p 1

[M. Yusin article: "Iran and Turkey Vying for Influence Over Islamic Republics of USSR"]

[Text] The Ukrainian referendum, which called into question the preservation of the Union, coincided with an intensification of diplomatic activeness by the Muslim republics of the former USSR. At the same time, interest in them from neighboring states is increasing.

First and foremost, this means Iran and Turkey. In THE WASHINGTON POST observer's opinion, "the eclipsing of the central government in Moscow" has sparked off a fierce contest between those countries, which have ancient cultural, religious, and trade ties with Soviet Muslims numbering over 50 million." The rivalry, in which Turkey with its more powerful economic potential proved considerably more powerful, has caused a complication in relations between Tehran and Ankara.

Iranian Supreme Defense Council member Larijani stated recently that "Turkey's policy in the Muslim-inhabited Soviet republics is directed against the revival of the idea of Islam there." In his words, Ankara wants to isolate Islamic Iran.

One of Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati's aims during his lengthy tour of the Muslim republics of the former USSR was to wrest the initiative from Turkey. The next stage of the trip was Tajikistan, where Iran has the most chance of strengthening its influence by relying on the ethnic and cultural proximity of the two peoples. At the end of the visit, a declaration was signed providing for the opening of consulates general in Dushanbe and Tehran and the establishment of direct economic ties between Iran and Tajikistan.

In the intervals between meetings with leaders of the Central Asian republics, from time to time the Iranian minister read IZVESTIYA, one presumes. His eye was caught in particular by an item in issue No. 281 which claims that Iran is in no hurry to recognize the independence of Azerbaijan. Iran's acting consul general in Baku handed the Azerbaijan foreign minister a note which says that "Dr. Velayati repudiates the idea attributed to him in the infamous article" and says that Velayati did not give the interview that IZVESTIYA cites at all.

This statement seems somewhat strange because millions of Russian viewers saw the Iranian minister's TV interview in which he spoke about problems connected with Azerbaijan's independence. And his words which IZVESTIYA used in its report were spoken in an interview with the radio station Ekho Moskvy and were cited the following day by the world's major news agencies. It cannot be ruled out that in the past week Tehran, observing the quickening disintegration of the Union, altered its approach and now does not preclude the possibility of recognizing the independence of the Central Asian republics and Azerbaijan.

Meanwhile, the Turkish Government is receiving the president of another republic of the former USSR—Turkmenistan. Arriving in Ankara 2 December, Saparmurad Niyazov stated that he "hopes very much for the Turkish people's fraternal help in developing the economy." On the same day he met with Turkish Prime Minister Demirel.

European Bank Decides on Three Aid Schemes

PM0412103191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Nov 91 p 4

[Correspondent A. Lyutyy report: "European Bank Proposal. 'Parker Drilling' Follows 'Belyye Nochi' to Siberia"]

[Text] London—The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD], formed a few months ago to assist the East European countries and the USSR in their transition to a market economy, has finally approved the first three schemes for our country. A lengthy analysis of the USSR's needs and an expert assessment of the most effective way to invest funds preceded this.

And so, first, the bank decided to grant a loan of $6.5 million to the "Sovintel" company, which is a joint venture between the USSR Ministry of Communications and a number of foreign firms. The loan is being granted to create a modern telephone and communications system in the Moscow area to provide high-quality direct-dial communications with all corners of the world, and also fax links.

The system will function separately from the obsolete telephone infrastructure which already exists in the country. It is proposed that the scheme will basically serve hotels, business centers, and also individual companies. It is well known that one of our Western partners' chief complaints is the extreme difficulty of quickly reaching numbers abroad from Moscow. Its creators reckon that the scheme will allow 20,000 telephone connections to be made simultaneously.

In addition, the European Bank resolved to grant a loan of $12.5 million to the Soviet subsidiary of the American company "Parker Drilling" to finance the construction and initial operation of three modern drilling rigs to extract oil in Western Siberia. "Parker Drilling" will work on contract with the "Belyye Nochi" joint venture, which has already succeeded in sharply increasing oil production.

For example, at the moment "Belyye Nochi" is extracting about 25,000 barrels a day, thus bringing considerable hard currency earnings to the country. With the commissioning of a further three drilling rigs, extraction can be increased to 150,000 barrels a day. The EBRD considers that this and other similar schemes will make it possible to halt the trend toward falling oil production in the Soviet Union and to carry out a gradual process of modernizing technology.

And, finally, the third decision which the European Bank announced concerns a grant of almost $8 million to us to assist in training specialists in market economics. Among other things, the bank intends to found an international banking and finance school in Moscow and to advise the Moscow and St. Petersburg city authorities on questions of privatization. An expert assessment of schemes to create wholesale produce markets in these two cities will be carried out.

Compared to the scale of the economic problems afflicting the country, the sums which the European Bank has allocated will seem small. But specialists from the organization are convinced that it is now important not so much to pour streams of dollars into the the USSR as to determine accurately the spheres where we primarily need capital investments and to invest funds to maximum effect.

Western Concerns at Union's Plight Viewed

PM0412152791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Dec 91 p 5

["My Opinion" article by Political Observer Tomas Kolesnichenko: "The West Is Looking, But the Solution Is Ours"]

[Text] You do not have to be a clairvoyant to get an idea of what is happening, behind drawn blinds, in the offices of the West's nerve centers. Put simply, they are consigning to the archives all previous theories and constructs connected with yesterday. New thinking, relations with the Union (USSR or USS [Union of Sovereign States]—it doesn't matter), the ins and outs of the relationship between the center and the republics, the Gorbachev-Yeltsin and Bush-Gorbachev clashes, the great powers' nuclear parity, and so on and so forth—this is all history now.

I am also sure that the passions connected with Ukrainian independence will soon die down and it will cease to be the sensation of the day. The appearance on the map of Europe of a new state the size of France is a historic reality. And such realities have to be recognized sooner or later. Incidentally, it will be hardest of all for us, because we are not yet accustomed to shock treatment. The Ukraine's break with Russia—yes, with Russia, not with the USSR—will be a shock to us that cannot be compared to any disintegration of the British Empire, which, as is well known, hit the British hard. But they survived. We too will survive, although at the moment it appears that we are being butchered alive.

But then, who said it is a break? After all, there are, as people tend to say these days, civilized forms of coexistence. Call them what you like—confederation, community, commonwealth—what is important is the central idea. Which is to avoid sinking into the quagmire of chaos, but instead to create new mutually advantageous forms of cooperation among the former USSR republics and find a way out of the crisis.

Indeed, such forms exist. But are we, yes, we, ready for them? It is this question that is currently under discussion in the West's nerve centers. Only yesterday they were persuading us, exhorting us, urging us not to break up the Union and to pull together. But this sounded to us like the CPSU Central Committee's old slogans for an October Revolution anniversary. Now we are again being urged to avoid an economic catastrophe, a breach, but this too is mere noise, along the lines of: "Former republics of the USSR, pull together in the struggle for a single economic area!"

It occurs to few people that this is what we, rather than they, need most. "They" need one thing—that a civil war should not start in the former USSR, because there are nuclear weapons in various republics—tens of thousands of warheads, each of which is a Hiroshima at least.

The West has now fallen into a trap. History has played a bad joke on it. It spent trillions of dollars on the struggle against the "Soviet threat" and, you might say, won it. There is no USSR and no Soviet threat either. But an even more frightening one has emerged. The "Croatization" of the USSR has resulted in the appearance of the "Russian threat," "Ukrainian threat," "Kazakh threat".... That is why the West is frantically looking for a new strategy, a new approach to the former USSR. And do not be offended by anyone. Washington's "sentimental relationship" with Moscow is already a thing of the past. History has demonstrated once again the correctness of the pronouncement that states have neither everlasting enemies nor everlasting friends, and there are only permanent interests. The West's gamble on the republics by no means signifies betrayal of the center or a 180-degree change of policy by, for instance, Washington.

The United States is looking for "civilized" methods of dealing with the Ukraine. Accustomed to their own leaders' election campaigns, they turn a blind eye to statements made prior to the new president's inauguration. So they are expecting Kravchuk thereafter to conduct a rational policy based not on severing vital and essential links with Moscow, but on the development of all that is constructive and of mutual benefit.

The United States hopes that the Ukrainian president's policy will differ significantly from the proclamations he made during the presidential campaign, in the quest for extra votes. For example, Washington would like to obtain from Kiev guarantees of the observance of the Helsinki accords, including human rights and ethnic minorities' rights, a promise not to try to change borders and to fulfill the USSR's commitments under the treaties on the reduction of armed forces in Europe and nuclear weapons, renunciation of the use and development of chemical and biological armaments, and, finally, agreement to keep unified command of nuclear weapons.

These are natural expectations, and, except for the last, which is a moot point, perfectly acceptable as far as the Ukraine is concerned. Kiev will provide all the necessary assurances, of course. And, of course, the Ukraine does not intend to threaten the United States. But what if "tomorrow," for example, it comes into conflict with Russia over Crimea? What will all these assurances be worth if the conflict gets out of control, considering that there are nuclear warheads on Ukrainain soil and on Russian soil? The situation is hypothetical, of course. God forbid that it should ever arise. But if nationalism prevails in relations between the sovereign states that made up the former USSR, then, in one way or another, a direct threat would emanate from the one-sixth of the earth's dry land that only recently we used proudly to call the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

There are many potential as well as smoldering conflicts between the republics that formed part of the USSR. To avoid them you need the skill of a mine specialist moving through a minefield.

It is our internal problem, of course. But much depends on the West too.

It would be tragic if the nerve centers of Washington and London, Paris and Bonn were to conclude that the disintegrating Soviet Union needs a "firm hand" from outside. But one can already discern such a feeling. One hears experts say such words as "tutelage," "monitoring," "UN forces." Yes indeed, all these words have been pronounced. This kind of approach is not only a blow to our national pride, but also an aggravation of the situation that has taken shape in the former Soviet Union. If only because it provokes, particularly against the background of economic ruin, the appearance of the old "firm hand," in other words, a dictatorship in our country.

If you draw up a list of priorities, then the problem of the economy would be number one in the West's foreign policy. No new world order is possible in the event of the former USSR's economic collapse. And in the United States even those who used to make the most strident demands for Washington to increase military expenditure know this.

Take Senator Nunn, who now wants part of the Pentagon's expenditure to go on aid for our country, to prevent its total economic collapse. Yet this collapse is not a hypothesis, but a very real danger.

Judge for yourselves. In the toughest years of the "great depression," the U.S. economy saw an eight percent decline. And that was a national disaster. This year the U.S. economy declined by only 0.6 percent, yet the country is virtually in a state of shock. Our economic decline has reached 10-25 percent, and there is no end in sight.

The West has to make what for it is a difficult decision. A rich person shares with others only when his personal well-being depends on it. But that time has come. Incidentally, after the war, the United States ungrudgingly provided two percent of its GNP to aid Europe. Today that kind of figure could solve many problems in our country.

One may ask: Democracy, nationalism, and aid—are they connected? Yes, they are connected. I am sure that in voting by a vast majority for independence, the peoples of the republics of the Soviet Union are voting above all not for an interethnic breach, but for a break with the bureaucratic center, which is incapable of providing a normal human life and boosting the economy. They think that once they have cast off the center's fetters they will be able to speed ahead toward prosperity. But they will do that not by isolating themselves from one another, but by using the new free national developement of each republic to a common end.

In short, the West is looking, but the solution is ours.

'Eureka' Technology Conference Opens in Moscow

LD0312033591 Moscow TASS in English
2223 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow December 3 TASS—A conference on the "Eureka" programme which was launched in 1985 on the initiative of French President Francois Mitterrand opened in Moscow on Monday [2 December]. The programme aims to consolidate efforts of European countries and to reduce the gap between them and the U.S. and Japan in the field of latest technologies.

The Soviet Union is taking part in the conference as an observer. "Eureka" will help Soviet Union to enter the world market of advanced technologies and to remove barriers in promotion of goods and services.

Northeast Asia

KAL Findings of U.S. Researchers Reported

92UF0247A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
21 Nov 91 Union Edition p 6

[Report by A. Illesh and IZVESTIYA special correspondent A. Shalnev: "Boeing-747's Pilots Were Not Blind, and Operators of American Military Radars Were Not Naive"]

[Text] New York-Moscow—"The South Korean Boeing-747 on route from Anchorage to Seoul on the night of 1 September 1983 found itself in Soviet air space—first over Kamchatka and then over Sakhalin—not by accident and not because of some malfunction in the flight control computer system. It ended up there because that was the way its flight had been programmed." American researchers **Robert Allardise and James Hollin** [as transliterated] are convinced of this. Just published is an extensive report on the work conducted by these two experts practically from the moment the KAL-007 was shot down by a Soviet Su-15 interceptor.

Analysis of an immense volume of information permitted them to reconstruct—practically by the minute—the tragic flight, and to come to a conclusion: The aircraft's navigational systems had been functioning absolutely normally. They carried out precisely the commands programmed into them before the Boeing left Anchorage.

Having reached this conclusion, the researchers also reach another one that logically follows from the first: The way the Boeing "behaved" in flight "was designed to deceive—and in fact did deceive the Soviet air defense forces over Kamchatka and Sakhalin." Here is where Allardise and Hollin put a stop: They are not ready—at least publicly—to declare that for all appearances the South Korean Boeing was carrying out a specific mission for intelligence services—either Korean, or American, or both simultaneously. (Actually, the IZVESTIYA investigation in the USSR also did not discover any absolutely unassailable facts that would prove the Boeing was on an intelligence mission). The most important compromising point is the fact that the Boeing was permitted, for almost half an hour, to stay in the so-called buffer zone—on the border between the U.S. and Soviet air space.

In one of the previous items of our investigation, we quoted a U.S. Air Force document regarding the maintenance of the flight regime in the buffer zone. That document, received by IZVESTIYA from American sources, clearly showed that the U.S. military radar operators had to notice the Boeing that had veered there clearly in deviation from the normal route between Anchorage and Seoul, and had to warn it about the deviation.

This had not been done, as Allardise and Hollin emphasize in analyzing a number of other documents related to the buffer zone. To the question "Why did the United States not warn the crew of the KAL-007 of the deviation?" the researchers answer: "There was no need for that; the KAL-007 crew understood where the aircraft was and where it was going, while the guardians of the Alaskan air space, knowing that, let it continue the flight."

Referring to a number of documents they had been able to peruse—in particular, "Information of the United States Government on Flight Regulations in the Alaska Region," the authors of the report write: "Even U.S. Air Force interceptors cannot be in the buffer zone without advance permission. Everything that flies there is tracked; the aircraft must maintain constant radio contact with the U.S. Air Force radar operators. All aircraft that cannot do this, for example, because of radio equipment malfunction, must leave the zone; otherwise, they would be intercepted and either forced to land or destroyed."

Both the flight through the buffer zone and the entire flight from Anchorage presented, from the researchers' point of view, a full range of violations of rules and regulations issued by the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) and the Federal Aviation Administration of the United States—among others, regulations regarding flight speed and altitude.

In the last flight segment, during the last 20 minutes of flight, truly amazing things were happening: KAL-007 changed its flight level several times, descending from

33,000 feet altitude to 32,000, then to 29,000, then climbing up to 32,000, and then again sliding down to 30,000. According to available documentary evidence the researchers used, the KAL-007 crew at that time was not receiving any official permission to change altitude. Without official permission, it had no right to change the flight level—especially so often. Why would the crew commit such violations? Perhaps, in order to (there is such a version) shake off Soviet fighter-interceptors that were already sitting on its tail? Allardise and Hollin do not draw an unambiguous conclusion in this respect.

One more significant point in the research: Already damaged by Osipovich's missiles, but still in radio contact with the flight controllers in Tokyo, the KAL-007 crew never sent out a "Mayday"—an SOS—signal. "Why," ask the researchers, "did the aircraft, off its course, severely damaged, in a situation of extreme emergency, not send out this signal? And if it was an aircraft on an intelligence mission, why did it still not send out a signal—after all, it would have helped to provide the cover of an 'innocent stray?'"

"We do not have answers to these questions," write the researchers, "but one thing is clear: a Mayday signal contains not only the word 'Mayday' repeated three times, but also the aircraft call sign, and the information on its altitude and whereabouts. In addition, it is required that the crew switch their radio transmitter to Code 7700. A signal sent in this mode appears so clearly on the radars of ground stations that it is impossible not to notice it."

One cannot help but notice that this research, as well as all other that appeared abroad during the past 10 months, contains frequent and extensive references to materials collected by IZVESTIYA staff, and quoted from our newspaper investigation of the Boeing mystery. IZVESTIYA appears in the world press as an authoritative source of information on the fate of the KAL-007. For objectivity's sake it should be noted that the report authors also pinpoint certain contradictions and incongruities in our materials. Their remarks are related first and foremost to the fate of the "black boxes." It could not escape the attention of such a specialist as Robert Allardise—who had flown more than 6,000 hours on a Boeing-747—that, for instance, different participants in the expedition searching for KAL-007 debris provide different information on the outward appearance of the "black boxes" and their number. This, in the author's opinion, leads one to believe that there is no ironclad evidence that the "boxes" were found...

Let us remark right away: Contradictory data on the "black boxes" is explained rather easily if one understands the Soviet specificity of "super secrecy." The meaning of the expedition was, alas, not to find the remains of 269 perished innocent people, but to beat the Americans in the search for two electronic devices at the bottom of the Tatarskiy Proliv—those "black boxes" whose contents either side could then easily use in its own interest. At that time—in the nervous fall of 1983—the participants themselves did not know very well exactly what they were looking for. Special services provided absolutely precise information to only a very limited number of people, and then made those who had witnessed the recovery of these "boxes" (as well as those who had participated in delivering them to Moscow) sign special nondisclosure agreements. It appears that these agreements are still valid today. In any case, what is at work here is this familiar feeling of shyness—to put it mildly—every one of us gets when we hear the initials KGB. Thus, a certain confusion persists—how many "boxes" were there and how did they look? Actually, recently IZVESTIYA had reason to believe that there could be a real chance (let us hope!) of finding out the truth—of getting access to the "boxes."

As for us, the Americans' research once again convinced us: No matter how independent experts in Russia, in the United States, in Japan, or in South Korea may try, the mystery of KAL-007 will remain a mystery until official representatives of these countries provide clear, truthful information on exactly what happened on that tragic night. Truly, only by joint efforts, after all the documents in the possession of the secret services of four countries are declassified, and with the participation of independent experts working with these documents, will one be able to firmly state: The mystery of the Korean Boeing no longer exists. This most important day is still far away, though.

...In a personal conversation, J. Hollin said that he and R. Allardise had sent their report to Capitol Hill—to Senators Bradley, Kennedy, Levin, and Nunn, who are showing particular interest in the events over Sakhalin. There is hope that this report will prompt the senators to start a special congressional investigation. Once started, it can request all the needed materials from respective federal agencies. Including top secret ones.

So far, the USSR is not planning such a parliamentary action.

No Domestic Consensus on Kuril Islands Issue

OW2811040991 Moscow Russian Television Russian 1155 GMT 5 Nov 91

[Report by Tstetov; from the "Ot Za Ot" program]

[Text] This plastic bag contains dry seaweed. Japanese fishermen harvested it from the seas around the South Kuril Islands chain—namely, Kunashir, Iturup, Shikotan and Habomai. In Japan, this bag functions as a charm, and the writing on it announces something along these lines: Let us redouble our efforts, raise our voices and pray for the return of the four islands. All Japanese without exception pray for this.

Give me a weapon and I will defend my home myself—these words belong to a woman compatriot of ours from the Kurils. What a typically bolshevik attitude—

shooting praying people with a Kalashnikov. And you can be sure that if it ever came to shooting she would spare no bullets.

Not long ago, an overwhelming majority of the population of the former Soviet Union had a very vague idea about the nature of the territorial dispute which was poisoning Soviet-Japanese relations. It was a forbidden subject, but from time to time the former Soviet leadership had to broach it. However, these leaders had no other definitions for the Japanese popular aspiration for the return of the islands other than militant nationalism, revanchism, and chauvinism.

Glasnost has finally allowed the truth about the existence of the Soviet-Japanese territorial disagreements to be told to the people. But the imperialist communist intoxication was so strong that some reached for the machine gun.

There are no cold spots in a boiling pot. But this is precisely what we need in order to shed the propagandistic cliches and approach this very real problem calmly and rationally. The problem is not going to disappear even if we empty a whole machine gun clip into it; it will just start bleeding. It is easy to say: If an idea does not fit inside your head, the previous one should be thrown away. Indeed, the idea that our rights to the islands of Kunashir, Iturup, Shikotan and Habomai may be disputable does not fit into everyone's head. And it is difficult to throw away habitual ideas, which for so long seemed incontrovertible. Nevertheless, we will have to deal with it since many of our past notions on the territorial issue were based on inadequate knowledge of the facts or their careless representation.

I will not impose on you my own opinion on the essence and solution of the territorial problem. You might make the correct conclusion yourselves after getting acquainted with some diametrically opposed views on the islands of discord. [Video shows a montage of maps & stills depicting the four disputed islands, the title of the program "Islands of Discord", then cuts to show V. Zilanov, USSR deputy minister of the fishing industry, seated in an office decorated with Japanese calligraphy]

[Begin recording] [Zilanov] I contend that there are no unsolved questions in Soviet-Japanese relations. I consider that the question has been solved by history, by the events of the first Russo-Japanese War, which in a way anticipated these events, and by a whole series of international legal documents in the post war period. [Video shows Ye. Kogan, USSR people's deputy]

[Kogan] You see, it is impossible to say that the question does not exist, it was objectively presented a long time ago. But to say that the situation is such that we have to return a part of our territory by tomorrow—well, excuse me, but I do not think so. [Video shows I. Tyshetskiy, political scientist at the diplomatic academy of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs]

[Tyshetskiy] If even one side states that the question exists, then it actually exists. Recently, it was acknowledged officially. Gorbachev...that is, both former Union and present Russian leaders confirmed the existence of an unsolved territorial question. [Video shows a quotation by Admiral Putyatin, dated 1855 reading: Consider Iturup to be the outermost [kraynim] island on the Japanese side.]

[Kogan] With the simultaneous Japanese colonization of Hokkaido, the Kurils were being colonized by Russia. Eventually they met in between, and this meeting took part on the Kurils. Therefore it is probably difficult to say who landed there first, although there is evidence that our pioneers got there first, and that they met the Ainu before the Japanese did. In any case, there is evidence that some of the Ainu had already been baptized when the waves of Japanese settlers arrived.

[Tyshetskiy] You know, our propaganda, our historical researches always stress that the Kuril islands were first discovered and settled by the Russians. There is a certain amount of cunning in this since the Japanese, when they mention their priorities, do not say that Japan discovered all of the Kuril Islands, but mention only the four southern islands. Now, these four south Kuril Islands where visited first by the Japanese.

[Zilanov] The development of mankind and relations between states is at a stage now when making demands concerning the discovery of the islands, with a view towards claiming them, no longer has any basis.

[Kogan] This is probably one of the components in solving this question, but still, I suggest that we take the real situation into consideration.

[Zilanov] The joint declaration of 1956 talks about two islands, about a group of islands named the Southern Kuril Islands as a whole. The Japanese call them the Habomai and Shikotan Islands.

But a lot of time has passed since 1956, and a new aspect of the islands has recently presented itself. This aspect is connected to the establishment of the 200-mile economic zone. Naturally, there are certain economic assets within this huge territory. I have the fish in mind first and foremost. Of course, one can say that we have not developed the infrastructure of the islands enough, and the residents of the Kurils are right to say that social security there is not good enough. All our troubles are the same as in the rest of Russia and the Soviet Union. But in my opinion, giving up the islands only because someone says that we should is rash, to say the least.

[Kogan] In 1956, we practically promised two islands, and this position was stated and probably confirmed by us. Do I think that we should hand them over at once? I have already said no. The maximum that we could agree to is a joint administration of the two islands.

[Tyshetskiy] There are two different readings of the 1956 declaration. Well, not entirely different, but rather a narrow and a broad interpretation. The narrow interpretation deals only with what is in the text; the broad interpretation means that the declaration is not the final solution to the territorial question, but that discussion will continue and a final solution will be incorporated into the text of the peace treaty.

The order is as follows: Russia must confirm the obligations of the Union as defined in the 1956 declaration, it must confirm that the two islands, namely Shikotan Island and the Habomai group must be returned to Japan after the signing of a peace treaty, as defined by the declaration. Next, Russia must recognize the 1956 situation in its entirety, in the broad sense and the broad interpretation of the question. [Video shows quotation by V. Fedorov, governor of Sakhalin, reading: The clear-headed majority, the critical mass is against ceding the Kurils to the Japanese.]

[Kogan] The majority of our people were found to be more clear-thinking and clear-headed than the majority of our politicians. I do not know of a single country that has returned its territory from its own free will, even if it is called a super-democratic one.

[Tyshetskiy] The main trouble with our public opinion is that the public is not fully informed on the subject. There are certain propagandistic cliches, such as the most widespread one that these are traditionally Russian territories—traditionally, mind you, which means the Ainu are somehow excluded, and the term used is "Russian," not "belonging to Russia" [Russkiye a ne Rossiyskiye]. So it is very difficult to talk of a formed, an educated public opinion in this case. Therefore, I think that we can refer to public opinion only after we elucidate to it all the nuances of this problem.

[Zilanov] Economics decide the significance of a given territory for a given state, and it has a decisive role in our relations with Japan as well. The 200-mile zone adjacent to these islands constitutes about 200,000 square kilometers. This is equal to the joint territory of Czechoslovakia, Switzerland and Austria. The fishing there already yields between 1.3 and 1.5 million tonnes, and the overall value of the production in today's prices is around seven billion. If we calculate it in world prices, it is very significant, too. And it is a yearly income.

[Kogan] You must understand, there is no other land like this. These are unique islands, with a unique nature and fishing reserves, and prospects for oil and gas. If we just give it away, we might regret it later.

[Tyshetskiy] You know, we hear many voices and there are many publications today in which the authors try to stress that these islands are economically indispensable, that they have rich natural resources and minerals, such as fish and oil. All kinds of theories about it crop up. Even if these islands were the richest, it does not constitute a reason to say that since they are so rich, since the territories are so good, we will not give them to anyone. If we intend to respect international law, if we intend to live in the world community, as a part of it and not separately, then we probably must be guided not with what is profitable for us and what is not, but by some norms common to the world community, norms of international law. Therefore the argument that since we stand to lose a lot economically we should not give up the islands is unacceptable for me.

[Kogan] From the strategic point of view it is not a rhetorical question at all since these are the Kuril Straits, the access to the Pacific Ocean, and I think Russia will never be indifferent as to what will be done there. It is conceivable that these islands can be used to build some very good naval bases, and although today people like to talk of new thinking, I for one, do not believe that this thinking exists inside many heads, and would not go beyond a point which has already been discussed some time ago. Since we gave our word, we must keep it somehow, but as to giving away the entire lesser Kuril chain—excuse me, but I object.

[Tyshetskiy] I believe that from the military point of view, these islands could undoubtedly have had a great value before the invention of nuclear weapons and their launch systems.

Then these islands really could have played the important role of a front post for solving some kind of military or strategic problem. But today all of this recedes into the background since reconnaissance can be carried out from satellites, and rockets can be launched from someplace else, not necessarily from these islands.

This question also has an underlying political meaning. I mean, who is threatening us there? If we intend to retain this Berlin Wall between Russia and Japan in the future as well, then we can somehow discuss this question. If the state intends to become a member of the world community through integration, through economic ties, and through common economic interests, then the military factor loses importance, and the insuring of security becomes a factor of the economic policy, and of diplomacy. [Video cuts to show a quotation from ASAHI SHIMBUN dated 1991 reading: Nothing brings nations closer together than respect for national feelings. The return of the islands is the national aspiration of the Japanese.]

[Zilanov] Public opinion is being manipulated and directed, and I think that this process is very common in Japan.

[Kogan] In Japan, national spirit has always played a major part and traditions have very deep roots, so I am not surprised that everyone in Japan demands the return of the Northern Territories.

[Tyshetskiy] Public opinion is always shaped, and as our recent experience shows, shaping it is not such a difficult task, especially in a country where democracy is either absent or is very peculiar, with an Oriental, Confucianistic cast. Therefore, shaping public opinion in a country like Japan is probably more difficult than in the Soviet Union 10 years ago, but it still is not too difficult. I am deeply convinced that this opinion has been manipulated, and that there was no serious discussion of this subject in Japan itself. On the other hand, one must take this opinion into account; if it exists one must take it into account.

[Kogan] Try to understand only this—we have done a very terrible thing. We have started withdrawing from our borders. In the end, I think this will cause a flood of people with no homes, work or money, and this will also cause social tension. Some political forces will take delight in this; they accept all of this with undisguised joy and say: Our goal is to cause Russians to kill Russians, as they did in 1918, and this will be a nice, big step in this direction.

[Tyshetskiy] According to a recent announcement, if the question is decided in favor of the Japanese and some of the islands, some territories are ceded to Japan, the Japanese side is willing to discuss offering double citizenship to those who are living there today. By the way, this is an unprecedented thing in the Japanese experience. There is the Japanese suggestion that Soviet or Russian property on these islands would also remain as it is.

[Kagan] We have people who are willing to throw everything away. Recently it was announced that we would give the Kurils away. One should poll those who live there. I think that 92 or even 99 percent of them would object. What right does one have to decide the fate of people who have been living and working there for several generations? They must decide, they should be asked. If they say that they agree—well, then it is a different story. But if they categorically refuse, should we force them? [Video shows 1991 quotation by Khasbulatov reading: In new situations it is precisely we who must assume the former functions of the USSR.]

[Tyshetskiy] It was simple to say half a year ago: The Soviet Government must confirm the declaration of 1956. In any case, no one but Russia can resolve this question now, and Russia itself will not agree to anyone else resolving it. But there is a more difficult question—to what extent must Russia inherit the obligations of the Soviet Union, which are connected to this issue? I am deeply convinced that Russia must fully conform to the obligations of the Union government on the territorial issue, the territorial demarcation.

[Zilanov] When Count Witte decided to undersign the Portsmouth Treaty which ceded half of Sakhalin, people gave him a name which, I think, fitted him well—it was Count Polusakhalinskiy [Half of Sakhalin]. I think that if one of our politicians—whether from the Russian or Union center, or anyone else—dares to take such a step, he will inevitably get the nickname Comrade Polukurilskiy [Half of Kurils], or Mr. Polukurilskiy.

[Kogan] In fact, what is about to be done will remove responsibility from the Soviet deputies and transfer it to the Russian deputies. This will make it somewhat easier for me in the future, but I do not know if it will be easier for the country. There are many people out there today who are quite full of enthusiasm, whose attitude to their own country and history amounts to vilifying all they can. Against this nihilistic background an attitude of: Let us give away everything to everyone and be on our own, arises. So that is what you will have, my friends!

But I think that it is immoral to trade away what belongs to everyone.

[Tyshetskiy] Sure, sure: Traditionally Russian territories, national territories, betrayal of national interests, Russia for Russians, true Russians must defend traditionally Russian lands. All these are very attractive slogans, and one can profit well from them in domestic political struggle. But it is dangerous, from two points of view. First, it really does inflame nationalistic passions to some extent; second, such declarations block any kind of solution to the Japan problem. The improvement of relations with Japan will again be postponed to the unforeseeable future, with all the negative consequence which will follow. In my opinion, many of our politicians are beginning to juggle this question in their own interests, and with a nationalistic trend. Strangely enough, these are not only politicians that we traditionally view as belonging to the conservative wing as we understand it, but radical politicians and democrats are doing it as well.

[Kogan] I repeat—to me, the most forcible argument is the fact that we got the islands as a result of World War II. We did not start the war so, frankly speaking, my attitude is to treat the issue as it formed—that is, the islands are ours. And I simply reject any other version.

What worries me most is an issue that is very important these days but about which Russians—and leaders concerned with the fate of the Russians—are completely indifferent. This issue should concern not only Russians living in Russia but also those who are Russian by birth.

[Tyshetskiy] In my opinion, the civilized way is to hold talks with Japan, and regardless of the solution of the territorial issue and the resulting territorial demarcation, the Russian or Soviet delegation should undoubtedly safeguard the interests of the local residents—this is already being done.

[Kogan] Finally, the main question is: Under whose sovereignty will this land be? I consider that giving it up is a criminal act towards the next generation. Frankly, I think that two islands could be placed under joint administration, but the rest of the islands are ours, and that topic should be closed.

[Zilanov] I must say at once that a joint ownership of one territory by two governments is impossible under present day conditions. I mean that there is no atmosphere of trust. Economic cooperation on these islands is quite possible through joint companies and through joint ownership of enterprises. But it must be based on the principle of mutual profitability. As to territorial ownership, it will play a lesser role when the economy develops. I can say with confidence, in the name of the fishermen of the Far East, that we all support broad cooperation with Japanese fishermen—in the catching, processing and marketing of fish. But it all must be done based on mutual non-discrimination.

[Tyshetskiy] I do not think that at this stage Japan will be satisfied with sharing ownership, although as a transitional stage, joint ownership and development could be a good step. It might be a good idea to stretch this stage out over several years, maybe about 10 years, during which time the islands would be under joint ownership.

[Zilanov] Our relations with Japan were anything but smooth—we fought four times. Even as we developed our economic relations in the post war period, the weight of mutual mistrust constantly bears down upon us. I think that the key to our interrelations is not some territorial demands to each other, but rather the establishment of trust, trust, and trust again. [end recording]

I would like to add the following to what you have just heard: A national consensus has been reached in Japan on the need to have the four islands of the South Kuril chain returned, and we can not ignore it. A public opinion poll carried out in the territories of the 15 former Soviet republics showed that 26 percent objected to the return of all four islands to Japan under any condition whatsoever. As you can see, this is a far cry from national consensus. However, disregarding the opinion of a part of the population is also inadmissible, regardless of how small this group is.

The Russian president's message to the Japanese prime minister contains a sensible and fairly contemporary thought: Russia refuses to divide countries into the victors and the vanquished. Therefore, it is doubtful whether it is correct to see the four islands as a prize to the winners of the past war. Both sides believe—and it was clearly heard in speeches by both Russian and Japanese leaders—that a mercantile barter approach to the territorial problem—you give us credits, we give you islands—is vulgar and humiliating both for our country and for Japan.

The participants of the program have said enough about the natural wealth of the four islands. But no matter how great our losses in the event of ceding the islands, I think preference should be given not to material profit, but to justice, legality, and the accepted norms of international law.

The upcoming talks with Japan on the territorial issue will be difficult, and haste and fuss, whether in the Supreme Soviet, the Russian Government or the mass media, will be detrimental to them.

And one last thing: It might be that the logic of good-neighborly intergovernmental actions will ultimately result in Kunashir, Iturup, Shikotan and Habomai becoming the first example of the obliteration of boundaries in the 21st century, and not only between people of different races and nationalities, but also of different citizenship. Then the melody accompanying this program will become a symbol of an era of losses and separation which has receded into the past, never to return.

Near East & South Asia

Khomeyni Says Kidnappings 'Sure To' Continue

*LD0412221991 Moscow TASS in English
1646 GMT 4 Dec 91*

[Text] Tehran December 4 TASS—The Imam's son Ahmad Khomeyni called "the unilateral liberation of Western hostages by Muslims is unjust", today in a meeting with core representatives from the "Guards of the Islamic Revolution."

According to the newspaper, ABRAR, Khomeyni condemned the "protectors" of Israel for not pushing hard enough for the release of Palestinian and Lebanese prisoners and hostages jailed in Israel. Khomeyni expressed certainty that "if these Muslim prisoners are not released in the near future, the kidnappings are sure to continue."

The representative for Iran's parliamentary defense committee and former Iranian Minister of the Interior, 'Ali Akbar Mohtashami, underlined Iran is against the taking of hostages. In an interview with British BBC radio, Mohtashami stated the solution for these problems lies in the hands of the West, particularly the United States, which supports Israel. The principles of the Islamic revolution have nothing in common with kidnapping people, he added. "Actually, Iranians became the first hostages in 1982 when Phalangists seized several Iranian diplomats in West Beirut. To this date, nothing is known of their whereabouts."

The root of the problem lies in United States foreign policy and their meddling in the affairs of Lebanon, said the Iranian parliament.

Belonogov Receives Israeli Ambassador-Designate

*PM0412142391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
30 Nov 91 Union Edition p 7*

[Untitled report from REUTER, AP, UPI, TASS, AFP roundup]

[Text] A.M. Belonogov, USSR deputy minister of external relations, received A. Levin, the State of Israel's ambassador-designate to the USSR, in connection with the forthcoming presentation of his credentials.

The state of affairs regarding the Near East settlement was discussed during the conversation, and certain questions of Soviet-Israeli bilateral relations were broached.

Bologonov Denies 'Pro-Israeli Bias' in Policy

OW0412184891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1745 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an interview with INTERFAX on Dec 4 USSR [as received] prior to his departure for Washington Deputy-Foreign Minister A. Belonogov explained that the present Washington round of bilateral consultations on the Middle East comes in a very complicated situation, so he found it hard to predict its outcome.

To a question by our correspondent he said so far no Middle East trip has been planned for E. Shevardnadze, but that couldn't be ruled out "since the situation may require it."

He resolutely denied that a "pro-Israeli bias" has emerged in the Soviet Middle East policy. In his opinion, the recent restoration of Soviet-Israeli diplomatic relations only corrected the disbalance which had existed for a long time. Now the Soviet Union will have diplomatic links with both Arab countries and Israel.

Concerning reports on spotting Israeli-made submachineguns in the Chechen republic, A. Belonogov refused to see it as an attempt by Israel to encourage anyone in the Soviet Union. If the reports are true, they only witness to "the general problem of insufficient state control over arms exports".

Official Views Upcoming Middle East Talks

OW0412182491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 4 Dec 91

[From "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At all appearances, direct bilateral talks between Israel and its Arab neighbours will begin on December 9, not on December 4. A Soviet Foreign Ministry expert believes, however, that this is not the most important thing. It really does not matter whether the talks will begin a day earlier or a day later. "What does is that all the parties concerned have sent their delegations to Washington and expressed their general readiness to begin direct talks," he stressed.

The Soviet diplomat told DP [Diplomatic Panorama] that the Arab participants in the talks had displayed "the necessary flexibility and a reasonable and carefully weighed-out approach", and accepted the date for the Washington talks proposed by Israel. "We are moving, however slowly, towards the goal set in Madrid," he said.

Speaking about the organizational meeting which is expected to be held in Moscow on January 28 and 29, 1992, in order to get the multilateral negotiations started, the Soviet diplomat said that it would involve more than 20 states. The meeting will concentrate on the regional problems, including that of the Palestinian refugees, arms race, environmental protection, water utilization and economic cooperation. The Soviet diplomat said that those problems could not be left outside the negotiating process.

The Moscow meeting is likely to begin at the level of foreign- ministers and to continue at the level of experts. The Soviet diplomat said that this meeting might be rather brief. In Moscow, the participants are expected to discuss the regional problems. It is not ruled out that they will decide to set up commissions in charge of specific problems.

Whereas the Madrid conference on the Middle East was attended by only 6 parties directly involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict, in Moscow they may be joined by the states which do not border on Israel, among them the Gulf and the Northern African countries.

To quote the Soviet expert, the Moscow talks may be attended by states located outside the region in question. In Moscow, unlike in Madrid, the EC countries will act not only as one delegation, but also separately. The Moscow talks will be attended by China as a great state interested in restoring peace in the Middle East. Also, the Moscow conference may attract Canada, Japan and other countries capable of giving real material assistance to the process of establishing peace in the Middle East. Who should be invited to Moscow and for what purpose will be decided by the Soviet Union and the U.S. as co-chairmen of the peace process. Pending the Moscow conference, they are planning to hold multilateral consultations and discuss a number of problems, including the duration of the talks.

Prospects for Delayed Mideast Talks Viewed

LD0412230491 Moscow TASS in English 1522 GMT 4 Dec 91

[By TASS international analyst Yuriy Tyssovskiy]

[Text] Moscow December 4 TASS—It looks as if the Arab delegates who arrived in Washington to take part in the next round of the Middle East peace conference will have no one on the other side of the negotiating table.

According to Soviet-American invitations, representatives of the sides were to meet today to discuss the pressing issues of the Middle East settlement. But Israel proved intractable. Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir said in the U.S. capital during his recent visit that his delegates would be able to arrive for talks only next Monday. The reasons he gave for the delay were clearly unconvincing. He said there was the need to prepare properly for dialogue with Arab opponents and celebrate the Jewish holiday of Hanukkah. Neither reason for the delay holds water.

Spokeswoman for the Palestinian delegation Hanan 'Ashrawi has already said Wednesday, December 9 will mark the fourth anniversary of the Intifada—the Palestinian uprising against the Israeli occupation of Arab territories. For this reason, she said, the Arab delegations will not sit and wait for Israelis to arrive in Washington.

The impasse threatens to undermine to a certain extent the authority of the U.S. sponsors of the negotiating process. U.S. Secretary of State James Baker was firm in his condemnation of Shamir's attempts to slow down direct contacts by calling for their post-Madrid resumption on December 4.

In this case the Israeli leadership's behavior looks like direct sabotage of Baker's efforts. 'Ashrawi charged that the Israelis were set to draw out the peace process for as long as they could or derail it completely. She said they were seeking to undermine the determination of Palestinians to continue their participation in the process. It is difficult to disagree with her point of view.

A slight hope still persists that at least part of the Israeli delegation will arrive in Washington. Anyway, people close to the U.S. State Department are confident.

Otherwise Shamir and his associates will find it hard to vindicate their "quiet sabotage policy" in the eyes of world public opinion.

Another interesting report from Washington says an international Middle East peace conference is scheduled for the end of January in Moscow. Representatives of Israel, Arab states, European and other countries will get together to discuss such major Middle East problems as the division of scarce water resources among Middle East countries, the establishment of tough control over weapon sales to the region, environmental protection, economic development and refugees.

Discussion of this extensive range of problems will certainly help create a favourable climate for the solution of political and military problems and facilitate the successful development of Arab- Israeli dialogue.

But only if goodwill prevails on both sides, naturally.

POWs 'Important' for Exchange for Mujahidin

PM0512093791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Nov 91 p 5

[Special correspondent V. Pritula report: "Mirza Speaks Out"]

[Text] Kabul—Something of a lull in Afghanistan's political life has begun. This does not, however, mean that the barometer's needle is stuck on "fine." Armed clashes are occurring more or less everywhere in the country, although the situation around the major provincial centers is relatively calm.

The Peshawar opposition is close to splitting into two camps. While Rabbani and Mojadeddi are expressing guarded optimism about the talks in Moscow, Hekmatyar, Khalis, and Sayyaf, leaders of the "diehard" factions, categorically reject even the most modest results of the talks and describe them as a betrayal of the "holy war."

In the meantime the arguments about the fate of Soviet prisoners of war continue. Local observers consider that most of them are in detachments of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan, which Hekmatyar controls. And this leader is in no hurry to hand over the prisoners to the Soviet side. A number of field commanders also hold a similar viewpoint, since the Soviet prisoners are important to them for exchange with mujahidin captured during combat operations against government forces.

In other words, Kabul still has real and effective leverage to resolve this humanitarian problem. And, as President Najibollah noted, the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan will consistently and persistently tackle the problem of liberating the prisoners of war.

This week journalists accredited to Kabul had the chance to acquaint themselves with new facts concerning Pakistani military intelligence's active interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan. As a result of combat operations in Qandahar Province a Pakistani Captain Asef Ali Mirza was taken prisoner 16 November.

Speaking at a news conference organized by the press department of the Republic of Afghanistan Ministry of Internal Affairs, he gave many examples of Pakistani servicemen participating in battles on Afghan territory.

Pakistan is not the only country taking part in the undeclared war against the Republic of Afghanistan, the Pakistani intelligence officer noted. Among others he named the United States, a number of West European countries, and several Arab states.

Economic Delegation Leader Visits Dubai

LD0512113491 Moscow TASS in English 2234 GMT 4 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Viktor Lebedev]

[Text] Abu Dhabi December 4 TASS—Arkadiy Volskiy, deputy head of the Soviet committee for the management of the national economy, is currently staying in the United Arab Emirates on the occasion of its 20th anniversary.

Today he visited one of the emirates—Dubai—to meet the country's vice-president and prime-minister, Dubai head Shaykh Maktum Bin-Rashid al-Maktum. The sides noted mutual desire to boost business relations.

Volskiy also met heads of the local trade and industry chamber and representatives of the business community. Dubai businessmen expressed their wish for more active search for contacts with industrial and trade enterprises of Dubai and its free economic zone Jabal 'Ali on the part of the Soviet republican and Union structures and the Soviet business community.

In the opinion of the chamber's leadership, business relations between the Soviet Union and the United Arab Emirates have so far been poorly developed. The level of these relations does not satisfy local businessmen, who have expressed a considerable interest in the creation of joint ventures both in the Soviet Union and Dubai.

Dubai businessmen are interested in the Soviet defence industry, both from the point of view of its conversion, and from the point of view of armaments production for the needs of Arab countries.

The Soviet Union has not had the correct picture of the Persian Gulf Arab states, and broad opportunities opened by the region for state and private businesses of the union and the republics, Volskiy told TASS.

The major result of the visit to the United Arab Emirates is the conviction in the need for most active cooperation with this state, living a busy business life, and other states of the region, Volskiy noted.

He called for an early adoption of organizational measures to boost economic interaction with the region's states in order to use their capitals for the improvement of Union and republican economies.

In his opinion, the Union should change a number of legal acts to involve investments of oil-extracting and other interested states.

Trade Union Chairman Shcherbakov Visits Israel

92UF0264A Moscow TRUD in Russian
23 Nov 91 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Visit to Israel"]

[Text] On 16-21 November GCTU [General Confederation of Trade Unions] Chairman V.P. Shcherbakov visited Israel at the invitation of the Labor Party (ILP) and the General Federation of Labor (Histadrut). He took part in the work of the ILP congress and met with the leadership of the party and of the Histadrut. Among issues discussed were ways to develop Soviet-Israeli trade union and humanitarian cooperation, sharing the know-how of trade union organizations' work in protecting the rights and interests of the working people in the environment of a market economy, training cadres and upgrading their skills, and Israeli trade unions' aid to the victims of the Chernobyl disaster.

In his speech at the congress the GCTU chairman pointed out the expediency of working out a general approach on the part of trade unions in respect of the conditions and nature of labor, economic internationalization, the environment, the coordination of actions against the falling living standards of workers and white-collar workers, and increased mutual understanding and cooperation in the international trade union movement.

East Europe

Gorbachev, Walesa Discuss Ukraine Referendum

LD0412212891 Moscow TASS in English
2113 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow December 4 TASS—Polish President Lech Walesa telephoned his Soviet counterpart Mikhail Gorbachev today to speak about the recent Ukrainian referendum and the world's estimation of its results.

Walesa stressed he would like to support the Soviet president's course towards the formation of a new Union state, and his efforts to prevent the country's disintegration, fraught with grave consequences not only for its peoples, but the whole Europe.

In his turn, the Soviet president stressed the need for a responsible and consistent approach to current developments in Soviet society on part of the international community and, especially, neighbouring states.

Gorbachev highly estimated the will of the Ukrainian people for independence, expressed during the referendum.

He stressed the high responsibility of Ukrainian politicians, against the background of freedom of choice, in the solution of problems concerning common statehood, without which the success of economic reforms and all democratic changes in the country is impossible.

Gorbachev wished Walesa and the Polish people success in the solution of difficult tasks Polish society is now facing.

Shevardnadze Summons Polish Ambassador

LD0412145391 Warsaw PAP in English 1418 GMT
4 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow, Dec. 4—Soviet Minister for Foreign Relations Eduard Shevardnadze summoned to his office Wednesday [4 December] the Polish ambassador to Moscow, Stanislaw Ciosek.

According to unofficial information, Shevardnadze wanted to see Ciosek in connection with Poland's recognition of independence of the Ukraine.

East Europe 'Moving Away' From Union to EC

PM0412102991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
30 Nov 91 p 5

[Vladimir Gerasimov "Viewpoint" article: "Where, Oh Where Have You Gone To..."]

[Text] The edifice bearing the name of the European Economic Community is going acquire three more floors. True, as yet only the first floor panels and girders have been put in place, but the "plan's" outlines have nevertheless been drawn. Last week Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia were registered as associate members.

For the last one and a half years these three countries have been persistently knocking at the EEC's door. After the "revolutions" it seemed that they wanted to gain admission on their own. And at the same time all three also rapidly rowed away from the sinking ship of the Soviet Union.

Economic egoism was frankly a factor. For example, Hungary, which was considered to be better adapted to the Common Market thanks to the economic reforms carried out back in the "Kadar era," its openness, and its close contacts with many Western firms and capital and which signed an agreement with the Common Market in 1988, did not particularly consider its former CEMA partners' interests.

Dollars, deutschmarks, and francs poured in to build new relations between Hungary and the outside world: If you take Eastern Europe as a whole, until recently, 60 percent of all Western investments went to Hungary. So it is not surprising that any proposals about financial, economic, and other areas of cooperation with the country's immediate neighbors in Eastern Europe were rejected.

As for Poland, in the press' opinion, at the October meeting of the "three" in Krakow it got nowhere with its idea of creating a common liberalized free trade zone. Hungary stated resolutely that it was first going to sign a treaty with the EEC and also with EFTA [European Free Trade Association], and only then could there be discussion of forms of economic, trade cooperation within the framework of the "three."

Both the crazy—from the civilized world's viewpoint—disorder of the former Soviet republics and cacophony of cries about sovereignty and the friction among the parties to the Visegrad Declaration (it was signed in February of this year in the small town on the Danube) annoy the European Council and the EEC. And this is understandable. Isolationism contradicts the Common Market's new concepts: The edifice which is being built should not only have strong rafters but linking staircases—a political, currency, and commercial "connecting shaft."

You might say that political dialogue (holding regular consultations to coordinate foreign policy), interparliamentary links, legal guarantees of equal rights for immigrants, freedom of movement, the standardization of legislation and financial systems—the paragraphs which define the "three's" association with the EEC—restrain national whims. The idea of regional integration is nevertheless also gaining supporters on the Danube, Vltava, and Vistula. And this is understandable, since the Common Market pledged to increase the sales quotas of agricultural produce for the East European "three" in exchange for restrictions on national sovereignty.

But the doors will nevertheless not be fully opened on either side of the continent. At the Community's headquarters they decided to give the "Visegrad initiative" 10 years to achieve integration. For if Europe's high-quality goods pour without restriction into the countries in its Eastern part, they will spell the end of its industry. And in turn, France did not want to ruin its peasants by allowing Hungarian salami, Polish ham, or Czechoslovak beer free access to its stores.

This is why Jacques Delors, chairman of the EEC's executive organ, the Commission, stated that the treaty of association is only the beginning of the process of rapprochement, not the first step toward becoming part of the edifice of the "Twelve." France and a number of other countries are displaying caution and restraint in assessing the prospects. Rallying the "three," they are orienting it mainly toward the "economic space" of the former Soviet Union.

However, there should be no illusions. The move away from their main CEMA partner took place extremely quickly and had negative consequences. The reasons for the ruptures are various. The former Soviet Union, which turned out to be insolvent, is much to blame. Hungarian economists, however, even now consider that: "The Russian Government did not break with bureaucratic methods of conducting foreign trade even after the August coup."

However, the move away from Moscow was also planned, and the reorientation was central to the "velvet revolutions'" nature. And the result is this: Hungary and Czechoslovakia have reduced their volume of trade with the former Soviet Union by 65 percent, and Poland by 75 percent—this is the real state of affairs this year.

The other day I met with the director of the well known Hungarian firm "Konstrumex," Robert Kupper [as transliterated]. He concluded a contract with Moscow's Mashinoimport to supply a meat combine. "We met the order," Robert Kupper told us. "Our partners transferred money to the Hungarian Foreign Trade Bank, but the bank is not releasing it to us." The people at Mashinoimport are also indignant: "There has been a bureaucratic delay for a month now. Why did the Hungarian Foreign Trade Bank decide to get in the way of our ties? Is it switching our money to another market?"

Maybe this is not a typical incident?

The EEC, judging by its desires and documents, will assist the "three" to build new East-West ties. But the only thing is that at the moment the "three" are moving away from their Eastern partners. Inexorably.

West Europe

Lobov Visits Submarine Base, Trident Facility

*LD0512025991 Moscow TASS in English
2246 GMT 4 Dec 91*

[By TASS correspondent Yuriy Sidorov]

[Text] London December 4 TASS—Head of the Soviet Armed Forces' general headquarters, Army General Vladimir Lobov today visited the Faslane Naval Base of nuclear-powered submarines in the north-west of Scotland and toured the Revenge submarine missile carrier.

Lobov, staying in Great Britain at the invitation of the country's defence headquarters, got acquainted with the progress of construction of facilities to service new submarines carrying Trident-2 missiles.

Volskiy Urges UK Investment in Soviet Market

PM2911155591 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Nov 91 p 3

[TASS report: "British Business and the Soviet Market"]

[Text] London, 27 Nov—Well-known British and Soviet politicians and businessmen took part in today's conference in London, "British-Soviet Trade and Investment." It was organized by the Middlesex Polytechnic Business School with a view to helping Britain's business circle grasp the rapidly changing economic and political situation in the USSR.

Geoffrey Howe, former foreign secretary, stressed in his speech the importance of preserving existing ties and coordinating actions between the republics of the Soviet Union.

Arkadiy Volskiy, deputy chairman of the Interstate Economic Committee, urged Britain's businessmen to be bolder in entering the Soviet market.

At the same time he warned of the dangers in store for the Soviet Union at the current crucial moment. Arkadiy Volskiy particularly stressed the need to coordinate economic reform between Russia and the other republics.

German Firm Backs Supplement for Moscow Paper

PM0512093991 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No. 47, 24 Nov 91 p 7

[Unattributed report: "Specially for Readers of MOSKOVKSIYE NOVOSTI—The Market Free of Charge and Delivered to Your Door"]

[Text] MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI has already long been living in the elemental waves of the market. We realised what tough competition means, and how dear the reader is to us. We care about our readers, who have found themselves in a world that is new to them, a world in which knowledge and experience decide everything—things our nearest neighbors, the Germans, have in abundance. The two Germanies, in uniting, each enriched the other with its experience: One knew how life should not be lived, the other has long lived the only way it is possible to live, and not simply exist. And in order for there to be equality among equals in this market forces environment, Mr. Joachim V. Mayer [name as transliterated], proprietor of the German publishing company J-V-M, has become publisher of a monthly supplement to MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI—RYNOK. ZHURNAL DLYA VOSTOKA I ZAPADA [The Market. Journal for East and West]. This supplement is free to our readers. By subscribing to MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, you automatically become readers of the RYNOK supplement.

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French Interested in Working With Military

PM0412150191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Dec 91 Union Edition p 4

[Correspondent Yu. Kovalenko report: "French Want to Cooperate with Our Military-Industrial Complex"]

[Text] Paris—From the viewpoint of French firms the Soviet military-industrial complex seems to remain one of the few economic partners with which it is still possible to do business in our country. You cannot help reaching this conclusion after talking with the leaders of French companies who participated in a meeting with Soviet military-industrial complex representatives which has just been held in Moscow.

When the talk turned to the setting up of joint ventures or cooperation in implementing specific projects, almost all my interlocutors from purely civilian French firms spoke of a desire to do business with a particular military enterprise. In the opinion of the French business world, it is precisely these that possess the most skilled specialists and well-organized production and that, given a skilled approach, can carry out conversion without special outlay.

France is prepared to assist us in the difficult matter of conversion and, according to the Paris press, there is an "entire legion" of possible projects in this sphere. According to French data, the Soviet military industry—this means 137 enterprises and 118 assembly plants—employs 5-8 million people.

Conversion, Paris believes, can be used in the interests of civil aviation, shipbuilding, and microelectronics. And two years ago, LE FIGARO reports, the major French firm Aerospatiale suggested to the Tupolev Design Bureau working together on a new aircraft to replace the supersonic Concorde.

Aerospatiale is also working together with Soviet partners on a project for a huge 800-seat aircraft. In addition, talks are being held on the Soviet Union's participation in developing a new generation of military transport aircraft within the framework of the European Euroflag concern.

The celebrated Dassault aviation company, which has already concluded an agreement on the production of stabilizers for Falcon aircraft in our country, is in turn considering a project to create a 50-seat aircraft together with MiG.

Space remains an important area of cooperation. Soviet specialists are developing a model of ejector seat for the European Hermes reusable spacecraft (the French were able to see their effectiveness for themselves at the Le Bourget air show two years ago, when our pilot succeeded in ejecting from a falling MiG).

Thomson, another major company, whose president A. Gomez will be making a trip to Moscow at the beginning of 1992, will supply flight-control equipment for one of our airports, while its subsidiary Siseka [name as transliterated] is completing work on the computerization of the gas pipeline between Siberia and Czechoslovakia. Thomson will also produce color television sets in our country and intends to create a plant in Omsk to produce 350,000 washing machines a year.

However, in order to implement these projects, Paris emphasizes, several conditions must be fulfilled. First, Soviet military plants must carry out conversion. Second, French industrialists want to know for sure who makes decisions in the former Land of the Soviets. Third, the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls, which continues to act as a serious brake on deliveries of the latest technology to us, must give its "go-ahead" to all these contracts and operations. And, finally, it is necessary to find sources of finance. This specifically remains the insurmountable obstacle to the realization of many projects at present.

Latin America & Caribbean

Castro on Soviet Troop Withdrawal Problems

LD0412233191 Moscow TASS in English 2252 GMT 4 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Gorbunov]

[Text] Mexico City December 4 TASS—The Soviet unilateral decision to withdraw from Cuba its troops, which have been staying there since the 1962 October crisis, provoked "a number of contradictions and even irritation and tension" in relations between the two countries, Cuban leader Fidel Castro told the Mexican SOL DE MEXICO newspaper.

The Soviet president made this statement "without any consultations with Cuba, and neither more nor less than together with the U.S. secretary of state", Castro said.

In the opinion of Fidel Castro, "this statement has made a great damage" to Cuba and "increased the risk of a U.S. armed aggression" against the republic.

"In this case, the U.S. pressure is evident," he said. "The United States is constantly pressing the Soviet Union to stop economic and military cooperation with Cuba."

Nevertheless, Castro does not believe the Soviet Union deliberately made this step to "weaken" Cuba.

In the words of the Cuban leader, his government informed the Soviet side on its disagreement with the Soviet unilateral decision to withdraw the troops and suggested to "discuss and analyse" this issue.

"We agree with the simultaneous withdrawal of the Soviet troops and the elimination of the U.S. military base in Guantanamo, which is located on our territory against the sovereign will of our country. This undoubtedly complicated problem is now being discussed, still no solution has so far been found," noted Castro.

The Cuban leader believes the Soviet leadership "did not want to deteriorate its relations with Cuba, on the contrary, it had taken great efforts not to make any damage" to the country.

However, "the chaos and disorganization" in the Soviet Union "has exerted inevitable influence on these relations."

Commentary on U.S.-El Salvador Statement

PM0512110791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Dec 91 Union Edition p 5

[Unattributed Report on Soviet-U.S. Joint Statement on El Salvador, plus unattributed commentary: "Soviet-U.S. Joint Statement on El Salvador"]

[Text] The USSR and U.S. foreign policy departments have issued a joint statement on El Salvador. It notes that the accords reached in April and September this year at the rounds of talks between representatives of the El Salvador Government and the rebels in Mexico City and New York are of particularly great importance. UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar and Alvaro de Soto, his personal representative at the talks, made an active contribution to the holding of the talks.

An agreement on the cessation of military actions has now been reached in El Salvador, and this is also helping to achieve success at the latest meeting now being held in Mexico City.

The USSR and the United States, the statement points out, urge the Salvadoran sides and the United Nations to make every effort to achieve national reconciliation in El Salvador before the year's end and state their intention to give every support to the peaceful solution of the crisis situation in that Central American country.

[Commentary] The first attempt to coordinate the two countries' efforts in resolving conflicts in Central

America was clearly the 1989 talks between E. Shevardnadze and J. Baker on ending armed help to the warring sides in Nicaragua. These efforts aided the holding of elections and the democratization of Nicaragua.

In the past two years the emphasis has shifted and the object of the two countries' peace-making efforts is now El Salvador, where a civil war has been in progress for 11 years. Here, too, there has been a perceptible evolution of joint actions—from the simple exposition of their positions a year ago, the USSR and U.S. foreign policy departments have switched to coordinated actions.

This is the fourth joint statement on El Salvador in 1991. In the opinion of a Ministry of External Relations spokesman with whom the editorial office talked, there is "full mutual understanding" in the USSR and the United States on ways of resolving the El Salvador crisis. Those ways are first and foremost the holding of talks, agreement on the remaining unresolved problems and a cease-fire, and the achievement of national reconciliation. Are there any stumbling blocks on this path? After all, the United States, as is well known, continues to accuse Cuba of giving military help to the Salvadoran rebels. According to the Ministry of External Relations spokesman's information, the Cubans have repeatedly informed the Soviet side of their support for a political solution to the El Salvador crisis. As the editorial office has been told, in the past few months the U.S. State Department and the El Salvador government have refrained from statements condemning Havana for interference in the El Salvador conflict.

Political & Social

Economic Community Meets on Debt, Taxation

Coordinate Taxation

LD0412113291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1045 GMT 4 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 4 Dec (TASS)—The participants in the meeting of the Council of Heads of Government of the Economic Community states under way in Moscow agreed today pursue a coordinated taxation policy with a view to unifying taxation principles.

The taxes agreement was the first to be approved by the heads of government from among a bulky package of documents relating to the Economic Community Treaty signed by 10 republics of the USSR. The treaty of 18 October is to become the cementing foundation for the creation of a new political union and for signing of the Union treaty.

It is expected that the meeting of the Council of Heads of Government today will adopt a further series of agreements of major importance relating to the Economic Community Treaty today. By all accounts a final decision will also made on the USSR's legal successors in paying the foreign debt and in the sovereign states' use of the Union's assets.

A TASS correspondent has learned from reliable sources that the idea was expressed during the meeting that the republics are not ready for liberalized prices from 16 December, as the State Bank will not be able to supply the whole population in monetary resources and the population was not prepared for such a step.

Gold, Diamond Reserves Questioned

OW0412160391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1315 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] As IF [INTERFAX] has already reported, the council of 12 republican premiers agreed in principle in Moscow Tuesday [3 December] on a mechanism of dividing the Soviet Union's external debt among the republics and defining each republic's exact share in it. Heated debates flared up over the division of the USSR's assets, particularly the Diamond Reserve. The Ukrainian Premier Vitold Fokin observed that "it is absolutely incomprehensible why the USSR's gold reserve, which recently amounted to 240 tons [as received], is said to be at 148 tons today."

As IF's correspondent has found out, the 148 tons in question is the gold kept directly in the USSR State Depository, with the rest kept "in another place" as well as at the gold-mining plants.

According to the Ukrainian premier, the Ukrainian delegation will be opposed to Russia's proposal that the Diamond Reserve be excluded from the Soviet Union's gold and hard-currency assets.

Mr Fokin indicated that the Ukraine would be unlikely to join those republics that had taken on collective responsibility for the country's external debt, since he said each republic's share in it was still undetermined.

Debt Repayment To Be Rescheduled

OW0412181891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1745 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Wednesday's [4 December] meeting of the sovereign republics' Premiers' Council has authorized the USSR Vneshekonombank to approach officially the Paris Club (of the creditor countries) for rescheduling repayments of the principal Soviet debt over 1992.

A preliminary understanding on that (with the servicing of the debt continued) was reached Nov 21 during the meeting of the premiers with the deputy finance ministers of the G7 countries. The sum to be yielded by the rescheduling was estimated as $3.6 bn [billion]. Wednesday's [4 December] meeting also discussed an application to the commercial banks which are USSR's creditors on its debt to them. As explained by the Vnesheconombank's spokesman, the application does not concern the bank's clients' accounts, nor interest payments and other obligations.

Documents Being Signed

LD0412204691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1753 GMT 4 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 4 Dec (TASS)—Today's session of the Council of Heads of Government of the member states of the Economic Community started the process of signing two important documents—the treaty of legal continuity with regard to the USSR's foreign state debt and assets, and the agreement on the mechanism of paying off and servicing the USSR's foreign debt in foreign currency.

The plenipotentiary representatives of Russia, Ukraine, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Armenia, and Kazakhstan have already signed.

The treaty determines in particular the share of the subjects of the former Union to a total amount of the debt and assets. The major share belongs to Russia (61.34 percent), Ukraine (16.37 percent), Belarus [Belorussia] (4.13 percent), Kazakhstan (3.86 percent). The calculation was made for the 15 former Union republics.

At today's meeting, in which representatives of 12 republics took part, the rules of the interstate council for supervising the servicing of the USSR's foreign state debts and assets was endorsed. Each member will have a number of votes proportional to the share of the republics of the former Union in the total amount of the debt and assets.

As has become known to the TASS correspondent, the majority of the sovereign republics have requested Russia to delay implementation of its reforms. This is justified by the fact that the USSR Gosbank may not have time to support the liberalization of prices with the necessary volume of cash.

Gold Reserve Allotted

OW0512044591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2030 GMT 4 December 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The republics' shares in the USSR gold reserve will be proportionate to their shares of its debt. This is not to mean gold will be physically shared out, as explained by deputy chairman of the Interrepublican Economic Committee Igor Gavrilov in an interview with INTERFAX after Wednesday [4 December] meeting in Moscow of the Council of the Republics' Heads [as received].

Commenting on the size of the USSR gold reserve assessed earlier by Grigoriy Yavlinskiy as 240 tonnes he said that "this is the figure expected for the end of 1991 allowing for the gold consumed by jewelry and electronic industries in the republics". He added that until recently Ukraine alone "used" 40 tonnes a year. "Approximately as much is held now by the gold-producing republics".

By December 20 the republics which have signed the treaty sharing out [as received]; the republics are to be given the details on all the USSR assets including all the investments and real estate abroad. Diamonds have been excluded from those assets and are to be evaluated and shared out under a special agreement.

I. Gavrilov announced that 8 sovereign republics sharing the responsibility for the USSR foreign debt have sent their men to the inter-state council monitoring the servicing of the debt. Russia has appointed Pyotr Aven, RSFSR deputy foreign minister.

The council will begin its work on Thursday [5 December], its rules were adopted on Wednesday [4 December] at the meeting of the Heads of Governments meeting [as received]. Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Uzbekistan which intend to pay their shares of the debt separately will be present as observers.

The current work on servicing the debt will be done by the Collegiate Observers' Council under the VNESHEKONOMBANK authorized to act as agent on administering the 12 republics' debt, including those that undertake joint responsibility and the others. The bank will keep its old name.

Outcome Assessed

LD0412220291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 4 Dec 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast—all participants identified by caption]

[Text] In spite of the protracted political dialogue among the former members of the Union, the common economic space seems to be starting to acquire more and more visible outlines. The participants in the session of the Council of Government Heads of the Economic Community member states, which has been taking place in Moscow, agreed today to pursue a coordinated taxation policy. However, they found it harder to coordinate their actions for economic reform. For instance, many government leaders stated that the republics will scarcely be ready for the liberalization of prices in Russia from 16 December. [video shows negotiations in progress, interviews with participants]

[Begin recording] [Reporter V. Perfilyev] Highly important and visible interstate decisions are being made at the negotiating table. Our viewers will probably be interested in looking behind the scenes of this event, where intensive work by experts, observers, and journalists is in progress during the intervals as well.

[F. Mamikonyan, permanent representative of the Republic of Armenia] It must be said that the small republics play a role of their own. When the big republics try to clarify their relations in high voices, as usually happens, the small republics usually act as intermediaries, and it often works.

[L. Ivolgina, deputy permanent representative of the Republic of Latvia] I only inform my government about what happens here. What interests us most is yesterday's [3 December] statement by Mr. Gaydar. I briefed our prime minister and our government on all that.

[Ukrainian Prime Minister V. P. Fokin] The national economies of Russia and the Ukraine are so integrated and have such firm links, established over decades, that it would be simply stupid now to expect that either republic could operate on its own.

[Perfilyev] The documents adopted by the government leaders are intended to form the basis for the establishment of a new political union and for the signing of the Union treaty.

[G. V. Kulik, deputy chairman of the Interstate Economic Committee] The government leaders have agreed on the principles for dividing the foreign debt, a clause has been approved concerning an interrepublican commission to observe that debt, and an interstate council has been set up to deal with the foreign debt. In other words, this problem, which has tormented the republics for many months, has somehow been solved. The government leaders are very concerned that if they do not join in the reform now, they could end up in a difficult position; conversely, Russia, in turn, would be in a very complex position if it started reform and did not receive support from the other republics. [end recording]

Debt Repayments Halted; Text of Announcement

AU0512123191 Paris AFP in English 1212 GMT 5 Dec 91

[Text] Paris, Dec 5 (AFP)—Herewith the full text of the telex sent to commercial banks by the Soviet foreign trade bank announcing its decision to suspend payment of debt principal with effect from Thursday [5 December], obtained by AFP.

"To all banks and financial institutions creditors of the Bank for Foreign Economic Affairs of the USSR

Dear Sirs

The Bank for Foreign Economic Affairs of the USSR hereby informs that the Soviet Union and its successors are presently facing a very critical situation in the economic and financial field and that unfortunately these difficulties will affect temporarily the external financial obligations of the USSR.

It has thus to ask for a deferral of payments on the principal of the credits contracted before January 1, 1991.

Taking into account (the) critical liquidity situation, we are obliged to temporarily stop payments of principal under such credits starting December 5, 1991.

We would ask you therefore to get into contact with the steering committee headed by Deutsche Bank to fix the date for negotiations on the terms and conditions of the repayment of the debt, covered by the present communication.

We also inform that we are contacting the group of creditor countries of the USSR with the similar request.

We wish to state that the payments of amounts of interest under all credits will be made in the normal way.

We thank you for your kind support,

Vneshekonombank of the USSR".

Republic Leaders React to Gorbachev Address

LD0412215291 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 2000 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has congratulated Leonid Makarovich Kravchuk on his election to the post of president of Ukraine. The telegram expresses the hope for close cooperation and mutual understanding in joint efforts to implement democratic transformations and form a union of sovereign states.

We have begun this bulletin with an official telegram in order to emphasize once again that something out of the ordinary has happened in Ukraine and that there are varying attitudes to yesterday's address by the USSR president on Central Television.

Nabiyev, president of Tajikistan, commenting on the address, told a TASS correspondent that he is convinced that the republics should not sever the links that have been established over decades. From his point of view the new draft Union treaty has taken account of the majority of the proposals and complaints from Tajikistan's plenipotentiary representatives.

Moshanu, chairman of the Moldovan parliament, shares the anxiety Gorbachev expressed in the address. However, he considers that his republic will get out of the crisis that has arisen since it adopted a declaration of independence. As for the reaction of the deputies to Gorbachev's appeal, this will become known only on 10 December at the session of the Moldovan parliament.

Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania, does not agree with the president's statement that the position of the ethnic minorities in the former Soviet Baltic republics has deteriorated.

It seems that only Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party, knows the way out of the crisis. If he is victorious at the forthcoming elections he promises that he will solve all the problems within two to three months. He expressed a negative attitude to the referendum in Ukraine, asserting that the referendum was not carried out in accordance with the current legislation.

Gorbachev Signs Decree on Border Committee

LD0412144991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1400 GMT 4 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Znamenskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 4 Dec (TASS)—A TASS correspondent was told today that on Tuesday [3 December] the USSR president signed a decree confirming the temporary regulations regarding the Committee for Guarding the USSR State Border.

For the first time in the history of the border troops, a completely independent interrepublican body of administration has been set up which is called on to pursue its own policy on the state border by means of a unified command of the border troops. The committee will act as coordinator; the direct guarding of the border is to be implemented by the border troops of the republics, districts, and sectors. The committee's main task is to ensure the security of the Union and sovereign republics on the state border.

Deputy External Relations Minister Appointed

LD0412190691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1825 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Excerpt] Moscow, 4 Dec (TASS)—The USSR president has appointed Aleksandr Vladislavlev as USSR first deputy external relations minister with the rank of minister within the limits of his competence. The official report on this was circulated here today. Aleksandr Vladislavlev was born in 1936 and is a Russian. [passage omitted]

Grachev on Gorbachev 'Possible Resignation'

OW0412162491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1520 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Commenting on the increasingly vocal rumors about Mikhail Gorbachev's possible resignation in view of the Ukraine's stubborn unwillingness to sign the new Union treaty, the presidential press spokesman Andrey Grachev told IF [INTERFAX] that "there have been no direct signs to prove that such a decision may be taken." Far from that, the president has been taking increasingly active steps to have the new political treaty signed even in the present circumstances, complicated as these may be, Mr Grachev noted.

Yakovlev: 'Elements of Chaos, Even Anarchy'

AU0412102091 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 2007 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Interview with USSR President Gorbachev's "chief adviser" Aleksandr Yakovlev by Hugo Portisch in Moscow; date not given--recorded; Yakovlev statements in Russian with superimposed German translation]

[Text] [Portisch] Mr. Yakovlev, in the summer the coup leaders said that they were forced to carry out the coup because the Soviet Union had become ungovernable. A few days ago, President Gorbachev said something similar: If things go on like this, the Soviet Union might become ungovernable. Is it ungovernable? How do you perceive the situation in the USSR at the moment?

[Yakovlev] I think there obviously exist certain elements of chaos, even anarchy. Nevertheless, despite apparent similarities between the statement of the coup leaders that the country is ungovernable and what Gorbachev said, there is a fundamental difference. The coup leaders were only interested in continuing the course they had embarked on as early as 1985: to resist the changes here. After all, it was a question of their power, the power of the Communist Party, the power of the centralist state, the power of the KGB and the army. They were gradually losing this power. Therefore, the coup was their very last hope of improving their situation. Besides, with their opposition to perestroyka, they themselves were responsible for much of the negative developments in the country. One must not forget that they were in significant leadership positions. The economic power was in the hands of the central ministries, which they headed. They complained that there was no order anywhere, but nobody prevented them from putting things in order themselves. I personally witnessed Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's meeting with those people and what he said when they complained about the lack of order: Who is stopping you from putting things in order? Yet they did not do anything. What is more, I am firmly convinced that they actively promoted the destabilization of society. Just think of the bloody events of Vilnius or in the Caucasus, the nationality conflicts. I am not sure whether these were not roused from outside, from the center. People don't begin fighting each other; they have nothing to gain.

So what does Gorbachev mean with his warning? He means the exact opposite. If we continue working and living in the same way and manage things in the same way we did in the past, we might indeed be responsible for the emergence of anarchy and chaos. That would be a severe blow. Not only against democracy in our country, but the entire democratic world would suffer a severe setback. We can witness the phenomenon of left-wing extremism in our country, as represented by the party of Mr. Zhirinovskiy. This gentlemen won 6 million votes, and he would get even more now. That is dangerous. And that is exactly what Gorbachev is thinking of when he warns against anarchy and chaos.

[Portisch] Yet this means that there is a certain danger of a setback, possibly even a second coup. People in the West have talked about a lingering coup in the USSR. Do you perceive such a danger, does such a danger exist?

[Yakovlev] Well, I would no longer use the term coup. I see the danger somewhere else. A coup like the August one is no longer possible today in the same form. The coup was not only organized in a most amateurish way, but it even absolutely discredited the form of a military coup. Nobody will be frightened anymore by tanks or soldiers. Even our soldiers will hardly be talked into causing bloodshed and using force. Now they know that it would mean great responsibility and that such actions are threatened with severe punishment. Meanwhile a decree has been issued that relieves any commander and soldier of the duty to carry out criminal orders. And orders to take action against their own people are criminal. I therefore do not believe in the possibility of a coup in the same form that we experienced. Nevertheless, we might witness something else: A social explosion from below, from the grassroots; a revolt of empty plates, because the people have nothing to eat.

The lack of food and pharmaceuticals, as well as the growing crime rate, all these social shortcomings are causing a kind of disenchantment that spoils the social behavior of the people. In an extreme case this might result in an emotional explosion, a senseless social revolt. However, if we are patient enough to hold out through the next few hard months, there is the possibility of stabilization afterwards. It is a question of time, and we will largely be responsible for providing the answer. The vital thing is not to be seized with panic now.

[Portisch] The question is whether the politicians, whether the experts know how things will go on? Can the planned reforms be applied? Time and again one hears about those 500 days, a period within which the Soviet economy could be transformed. Looking at our own domestic problems, I cannot imagine that a state enterprise, such as the Austrian Federal Railways, could be fundamentally reformed within 500 days. Here we are confronted with 70 years of socialist economy or mismanagement. Is it possible to change that in such a short period of time—you are talking of a few months; be patient, within a few months we will put things right. Can this job be done within a few months? Are there enough experts who might do it?

[Yakovlev] In your question you mentioned many problems, first of all whether we have enough experts. If I answer this question in the negative—which is close to the truth—it does not necessarily mean that we are just waiting and seeing and doing nothing until we have enough experts. We must use those experts that we have. After all, such experts as we need now have never been trained in this country. Society would have needed them, but this state did not. Who was in need of bankers or independent business people? Our system was a system purely based on distribution. Here economic thinking did not go beyond the level of bookkeeping and fiscal matters. Therefore we have to rely on those experts that we currently have. We must take care of their further training. We must send them for further education to Austria, Germany, Japan, the United States—in short, to the West. There they must learn how they have to do their jobs in the future.

Yes, we want to change our system as quickly as possible. Unfortunately it cannot be done as quickly as we would like. For example, we believed that it would be sufficient to appeal to the people to privatize trade. It would be a useful, progressive idea. However, nobody seems to be anxious to become an independent businessman. A state trader simply does not want to leave the state trading system. There he gets his money even though he does not have to work. Besides, if in addition he is corrupt—and he certainly will be—he is able to make money without even lifting a finger. That way he is able to make more money than if he bought his own shop and worked behind the counter.

We have created a society that has the mentality of the lumpen. The lumpen only waits for other people to stuff something into his mouth, even if it is nothing but a beggar's pittance, as long as he has to do nothing in return. The most important thing for the lumpen is that he does not have to work.

[Portisch] How can this be changed?

[Yakovlev] First, I believe that in a country with so many millions of inhabitants there are many people who would be ready to demonstrate initiative and entrepreneurial courage. We must free our fellow citizens of their constant fear; we must give them economic freedom; we must revive the free traders' class. The way must be cleared for traders.

If we used all our resources properly, we could recover relatively quickly. Tomatoes are rotting in southern Astrakhan, whereas there are no tomatoes in the north. Instead, the north has a lot of wood, which is, however, not transported and is rotting as well. These are examples of mismanagement. However, once we have sound business capital and trading houses, there will be no such shortcomings. There will be normal trade and money transactions. Everything will start moving and everything will work.

[Portisch] How do you get traders after having ousted or liquidated this class?

[Yakovlev] The new traders must come from among our youth. Our young people have set out to work with considerable drive and enthusiasm. However, we must guarantee that there will be no new forced collectivization, no new nationalization, and no new expropriation. However, in this respect we face a political obstacle about which I would like to make a few remarks.

Well, we have formally declared war on Bolshevism, and apparently we have got rid of the Bolshevik yoke. We do not have Communist Party structures today, nor do we have state structures dominated by the party, the Army's political influence is declining, and, since a short time ago, the KGB has ceased to exist. The road seems to be clear for capable people. However, this whole regime, which was applauded by many generations and was considered honest and imperishable, continues to live in our hearts and souls.

Look, we are all a product of these old structures. There were no free parallel structures in this country. The old ways are in the genes of even the most democratic and progressive new leadership forces. They are used to ordering others around, they are used to permitting or prohibiting things. There should be no command system of the old type now. But this old system has been replaced by a system that is marked by permission and prohibition. In our minds, we are still the Bolsheviks of yesterday. The human psyche cannot be changed overnight. That takes time.

[Portisch] Mr. Yakovlev, that is an extremely convincing argument. However, it is also alarming, because how will you get rid of this spirit? How can you change people who were brought up in this spirit and are still prepared to act in this spirit, as you just said, and may even be able to act only in this spirit. How can this be changed, by what methods?

[Yakovlev] I think it can only be changed by economic methods. I am giving economic methods absolute priority today—not the political and not even the spiritual means of persuasion, important as they are. Let me give you an example: For the time being, we have very few private farmers. These few farmers have been quite successful and are highly productive. They prove by their work that it is possible even in our agriculture to have a much higher output. They prove that production could be tripled and even quadrupled.

The leadership of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes understands only too well that free farmers would spell its own death. That was also the case with the attempted coup last summer. They knew that the advance of democracy would spell the death of the Communist Party and the death of the state and army leadership. Of course, I do not mean their physical extermination, but their death as a leading social class. Why is our agriculture unproductive? It is unproductive because half of all those who are employed in a kolkhoz are in the administration. They are all chiefs and hardly any of them really works. I think it is about time to discontinue subsidies for unprofitable kolkhozes and to hand the land over to diligent private farmers.

If a kolkhoz is unable to work and begs for subsidies because it can only live with financial aid from the state, it must be disbanded because it has lost its right to exist.

We also have about 20,000 unprofitable industrial enterprises that must be closed down and be taken on lease by the staffs, or sold to private entrepreneurs. In reality, the unprofitable firms live at the expense of the profitable companies. That is the great evil of the distribution system of the so-called real socialism. Assuming I am doing a poor job, and you are doing a good job. The state will help me by means of subsidies, which means by giving me money that you pay to the state. In the final analysis, the state makes me a totally lazy person and takes away every motivation to work. This system must be liquidated by administrative measures.

[Portisch] However, before this can be changed—the former GDR is an example in this respect—hundreds of thousands, and in this country probably millions, will lose their jobs and will be unemployed. Are you not concerned that by closing down or disbanding all unproductive kolkhozes and industrial enterprises you will create a very explosive social potential, that a social explosion will be touched off?

[Yakovlev] I do not rule out the possibility of a social explosion. However, that depends on our abilities, on our persuasive power.

[Portisch] That is the crucial problem. How do you intend to bridge the period when all this cannot be done, when competition must be developed, when merchants must be encouraged, when the farmers must be given land? Can Russia and the Soviet Union, or what the Soviet Union was in the past, bridge the period alone? Or will you need the help of the world, and if so, to what extent and in what form?

[Yakovlev] We have certain reserves. To begin with, for the first time in our history, the rural population will not suffer from lack of food, simply because the farmers do not sell foodstuffs any more because our money has lost its value. They can buy nothing for money. The farmers could exchange foodstuffs for goods. However, there are no goods. So we do not have to worry about food supplies for our rural population. That is a sort of reserve. The farmers will not be involved in any social unrest. There will be no farmers' revolution.

[Portisch] There is a great difference, as compared to the situation in the years 1918, 1919, and 1920, and in the thirties, when the rural population starved.

[Yakovlev] Certainly, there is a decisive difference, as compared to the situation at that time. The rural population at that time starved because the grain was taken away from the farmers by force. Today nobody would think of taking anything away from the farmers by force. That would be a relapse into the old system. Our entire project of renewing our society would become senseless. So this is the crucial difference between the past and the present.

However, we are now talking about a dangerous situation in the large cities. The large cities depend on humanitarian and other aid from abroad. That holds true above all for Moscow, Leningrad, Chelyabinsk, Yekaterinenburg, Perm, Kemerovo—large cities that are in a particularly difficult situation. It is known that all revolutions and counter-revolutions began in large cities. It is precisely for this reason that we need to have foreign aid. I would like to stress that the West would not only help us but also itself by giving us such aid. Such aid could prove to be less expensive than whatever might come afterwards, namely if our country—God forbid—experienced a relapse into confrontation, a return to totalitarianism and the policy of the strong hand.

[Portisch] It means that what the West achieves for itself, as a result of its aid or cooperation, is to prevent Russia or the USSR relapsing into a totalitarian regime; at the same time it prevents the collapse of the country, a collapse that would result in numerous refugees and might send millions of people away in search of bread.

[Yakovlev] You are absolutely right. Only, you missed yet another danger. Let us assume that all the republics of the Union want to exist as independent states. Wars would break out immediately, wars about territorial claims. The borders between the various republics only have an administrative character. They are not historical or ethnic borders. They were drawn up on instructions from above, which is why each republic has territorial claims against its neighboring republics. They will refrain from using force as long as they remain within a common entity. However, if they become completely independent states, fighting for such territories is bound to break out sooner or later because of overpopulation and because of the nationalities that would then be divided up between different states. I am afraid that our local politicians do not consider this situation. They are anxious to enforce their own claims to power at any cost. They are anxious to achieve self-fulfillment, are obsessed with power, and completely ignore the fate of their peoples, which does not seem to affect them.

[Portisch] Do you still have any hope that the Union treaty—if it is adopted—will provide enough governmental powers to certain centers that are able to carry out the reforms but also to prevent or at least reduce confrontation between the individual republics?

[Yakovlev] This issue was on the agenda of the last session of the State Council. Maybe we will have to set up multinational peace-keeping forces consisting of professional soldiers modeled on the example of the UN blue berets to avoid conflicts like those that erupted between Armenia and Azerbaijan. So far Russian units had to do the job. They might have to be replaced by these multinational, voluntary peace-keeping forces of the Union. They would have to implement the resolutions of our State Council.

[Portisch] That would require the consent of all republics, all republics that remain within the Union.

[Yakovlev] Yes.

[Portisch] What would the future of nuclear arms look like? That is a vital question for the West, particularly if such a situation would occur like the one you mentioned before: border conflicts, all-out wars between individual republics because of territorial claims, maybe even because of economic advantages. Nuclear weapons might be used in such conflicts. Perhaps it would not involve major strategic nuclear warheads but nuclear artillery. That is one side of the danger. The other is that of the nuclear power plants if such kind of armed conflict were to break out. Are they protected? Would the people who are responsible for the safety of the nuclear power plants maintain this safety or is there even an additional danger?

[Yakovlev] Nobody is thinking of seizing nuclear arms. I personally took part in the State Council session, in which it was unconditionally agreed that, in his capacity as supreme commander of our Armed Forces, the president of the Union continues to be in charge of the nuclear arms—even those in the Ukraine. The protection of all those silos has been stepped up. Nevertheless, there is only one solution that—at the same time—is also the safest one: to implement nuclear disarmament as quickly as possible; to stop all nuclear tests; to stop the production of fissile material, and to destroy the remaining nuclear missiles. That is the only solution. As far as the nuclear power plants are concerned, I do not see a major problem either—apart from the universal problem that nobody can absolutely rule out incidents in a nuclear power plant. We should develop a single, universal safety technology. However, none of the republics—whether independent or not—would permit a situation that might lead to the explosion of a nuclear power plant. In Chernobyl the whole world was able to see the severe consequences.

[Portisch] You have just been to the United States where you are taking part in high-level talks on the future of strategic arms. I know that these talks are secret. Still, in general, what is the objective of these talks? May one assume that—particularly through your personal efforts—the objective of these talks between the USSR and the United States is the total elimination of all nuclear arms, an idea that you have just presented? Was this a subject of the talks?

[Yakovlev] Yes, we declared the complete elimination of all nuclear arms as our common objective. Of course there are problems resulting from the elimination of nuclear arms. Nevertheless, I think and hope that, on the basis of a uniform, technological process, we will be able to agree on the destruction of nuclear warheads along with the Americans. The scientists were intelligent enough to develop arms of mass destructions, while so far they have been less successful in finding ways to destroy them.

[Portisch] Two days ago I received the news that the Americans are now ready to pay the USSR $500 million as a contribution to the destruction of the nuclear arms. You have quite rightly said that the scientists have not yet worked out an efficient method for defusing these warheads—their destruction is very expensive—and now I have heard that the Americans give $500 million to stimulate nuclear disarmament in the USSR. Would it not be a good idea for the Americans to buy Soviet missiles with money from their defense budget not in order to have them but to scrap them. That way the USSR would sell arms to the Americans, a lot of money would flow into the USSR, money you could use for reforms, while at the same time great progress would be made in the field of disarmament so that the United States would be able to put up with a much lower defense budget. Have such ideas also been discussed? After all, the fact that they have offered $500 million seems to be pointing into this direction: We are buying your arms, so to speak.

[Yakovlev] I discussed that with several senators during my stay in the United States. Yesterday I had a telephone call from the U.S. Senate and I was told that so far this is only a bill that was introduced; the figure is $800 million.

[Portisch] So it is more than $500 million?

[Yakovlev] Yes, but this money would be allocated for the entire conversion of the arms industry. We would be much more interested in joint elimination of nuclear arms. After all, now there is no reason to have any secrets any more.

[Portisch] From all that you have said it follows that there is new, closer cooperation and further-reaching understanding on all those issues than one has so far been observable from outside.

[Yakovlev] That is true, you are absolutely right. I have the same impression. During my last meeting with the Americans on all levels I had the feeling that they had become much more open toward me, and that mutual understanding is now much better. We have attained a new quality in our relations and have replaced confrontation with cooperation. The patterns of thought and the way of looking at things have changed. All barriers that used to separate us in the past are falling.

[Portisch] Let me return once more to the internal situation of the USSR. If the Ukraine now pursues a more independent course than was assumed in the past, if it will insist in greater independence, how do you perceive the future of the Union?

[Yakovlev] Well, what does greater independence mean? Let us take a close look at it. The Ukraine can be as independent as it wants to be. The problem lies somewhere else. Does it remain within the framework of the Union of sovereign republics or will the Ukraine abandon our Union? There is a substantial difference between these two conditions. If the Ukraine remains an integral part of our confederative, democratic area then I would gladly accept and approve of any degree of independence for the Ukraine within this framework. Life in practice would then determine what parts of sovereignty the center yields or what it retains. Even those who are in favor of a maximum degree of independence ought to know that there is not a single absolutely independent state in this world. Absolute independence is something absurd, absurd and harmful. If the Ukraine were to fully secede from our Union of states, it would be faced with several problems at the same time.

First, economic life in such an Ukraine would be absolutely inconceivable to me. What would this Ukraine sell and to whom? What would it buy and where from? How would it settle the issue of the Crimea? Twelve million Russians live in the Ukraine, and I have been told that there are 25 to 30 million mixed marriages. How would one tackle all those issues? I am optimistic that the Ukrainian people will be reasonable enough to gradually let these emotions calm down, that dispassionate realism will help solve these and other issues, a realism that replaces wishful thinking and castles in the air that people like to build in times of great events, particularly such people who have high-flown ideas that cannot be put into practice.

[Portisch] How would you like to see the immediate and the near future of the USSR? When I say immediate, I am thinking of the coming winter. How will you get through this winter? With what means? If you manage to get through this winter without any major shake-ups how do you expect the following developments next year?

[Yakovlev] I think that as of next fall the stabilizing elements will gradually begin to show, in the economy, agriculture, and in politics. They will show in the same degree to which economic union and political agreements will come into force; regardless of what states will be in the new union. That already means stabilization.

[Portisch] Such a development invariably largely depends on the people involved and whether those people are able to cooperate and share the same objectives. What is the situation like with the two most prominent personalities in the USSR, President Gorbachev and President Yeltsin? Are they able to cooperate, are they and will they be able to harmonize their positions in such a way that reforms in the country are guaranteed and that major confrontation or severe losses through friction can be avoided?

[Yakovlev] I find it hard to speculate. I am not a man who reads the stars and makes prophecies about other people's futures. Right now the relations of the two gentlemen are very businesslike. They are in constant contact, and they have found a common language on many important issues. There may be occasional problems between representatives at a lower level that are then presented as differences between Gorbachev and Yeltsin. I think that both Gorbachev and Yeltsin are persistent enough to overcome all that. After all, they know one thing: After the events of last August, when the centralist monster and everything connected to it was destroyed, these two men are fully responsible for the well-being of all people. It is only this responsibility that gives them the justification for their own existence.

[Portisch] Mr. Yakovlev, thank you very much for this interview.

Commentary Assesses Coup Possibilities

LD0412034391 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1310 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Just a bit over three months have passed after the abortive coup in this country in August and prominent politicians are again making alarming warnings about the possibility of yet another attempt to stage a conservative take-over in this country. But, this time not with the top and with reliance on the Army, as it was at the end of the summer, but from the bottom with reliance on (?drawing) and threatening to surface popular discontent with the adverse effects of transition to a market.

The possibility of social upheavals and even a social explosion, above all, through such unpopular measures as the liberalization of prices has been voiced lately by the external affairs minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, who predicted the summer putsch already, and by the vice president of Russia, Aleksandr Rutskoy, and also by the

Interrepublican Security Service leader Vadim Bakatin, and by the Russian Federal Security Agency chief, Viktor Ivanenko.

All of them express fear that, driven to despair by the disastrous state of economy and by their misery, people can take to the streets to rebel against hunger. And those who wish to take advantage of this will quickly be there. In fact, this will mean the failure of all progressive reforms in the country and a return to macabre times of the Cold War on the international scene.

This makes it so important today to correctly choose a path to a market, carry out reforms consistently and set priorities right at this or that transformation stage. It's especially important in this connection to work out measures in advance to provide social safeguards for the population, above all people with fixed and low incomes. And the Government of Russia, from which the pace of reforms nationwide depends above all, has already decided to apply such measures.

Regrettably, many say that the government also lost time when transition to a market was still possible relatively painlessly. Now dangers and shocks are possible and inevitable on this road. The only counterforce can be the political capital of the current leadeship of Russia. All the more so it mustn't be lost through delay and gross miscalculations which there have been quite a few of already.

We may recall the contradictory decisions of the Moscow leadership, decisions that have been changing almost daily in regard to the price of bread, the privatization of housing and trade for example. Capital residents have simply got tired of unpredictable actions by the authorities.

But it's much worse when such actions are taken at the level of the republic or the country as a whole. The price of an improper decree or even a word that is too great [sentence as heard]. For this reason it's so necessary today to analyze in a clarcut way through science the possible effects of the steps being planned toward a market economy. And in this connection the warning mentioned in the beginning of these notes can prove a useful and necessary impetus to such studies. Studies that are indispensible for a reform consisting of extremely unpopular but, judging by world experience, necessary measures for a transition to a market economy.

No matter how we wish the situation would be different it's the way you see it, and the only way out is to resolutely carry out reforms, however, without mistakes fraught with social explosions. This may be more important now than the defence of democracy in August.

KGB Says Work 'Devoted to Human Rights'

AU0212185591 Hamburg BILD AM SONNTAG in German 1 Dec 91 p 19

[Unattributed report: "KGB Wants Federal Intelligence Service as Subtenant"]

[Text] The KGB is looking for subtenants from the West. At its Moscow headquarters in Lubilyanka street, the new landlord Vadim Bakatin has reserved rooms for the Federal Intelligence Service and for the Office for the Protection of the Constitution. This was announced by Bakatin's spokesman, General Aleksander Karbainov, in an interview with BILD AM SONNTAG. "We naturally want to install a permanent representative to Germany as well. We have no problems in this connection with the CIA."

"We no longer serve a party today, but our work is exclusively devoted to human rights," Karbainov stressed. "Above all, we want to prevent violence in our country." Western observers should familiarize themselves with the situation. The Germans in particular should come and see for themselves that "we no longer employ former Stasi officers."

Asked about the defected member of the Cologne-based Office for the Protection of the Constitution, Hans-Joachim Tiedge, the general confirmed his previous statement: "It is absolutely certain that no German works in the KGB's German department. That would be compromising ourselves."

Karbainov believes that the West "strongly overestimates" the KGB. He stressed that the number of agents working for the central KGB in the Soviet Union has been reduced to 39,000. Every sixth agent—the older ones—will have to leave the KGB by the end of the year. Another 6,500 officers will go to the independent republics.

However, experts doubt these figures in view of the fact that 6.4 billion rubles and $20 million were provided in the 1991 budget. A comparison with the former GDR shows that 4 million East German marks were sufficient to finance an organization comprising 100,000 official and 500,000 unofficial employees, and top agents in the whole of Western Europe. "The figures for our intelligence activities abroad are different," Karbainov admitted.

Six Aug Putschists Officially Charged

OW0412162891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1520 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The RSFSR Procurator General Valentin Stepankov has told IF [INTERFAX] that legal charges have officially been brought against Yazov, Baklanov, Starodubtsev, Lukyanov, Yanayev and Tizyakov. He said those of the accused who had consented to give evidence were now being interrogated. Official charges against the other organizers of the August coup would be brought one of these days, the procurator said.

Further Problems With Law on Exit, Entry

PM0512105791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Dec 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by I. Andreyev: "Border Locked Up Again"]

[Text] Following our article about the problems associated with the introduction of the Law on Exit and Entry (IZVESTIYA No. 282), the reason for which was the closure of Leusheny checkpoint in Moldova, people intending to travel abroad have been calling the editorial office continually. They are our fellow countrymen who are intending to travel in their own cars or in buses belonging to tourist firms. They all ask the same question: At what point on the country's western border is it possible to cross?

Unfortunately, we have nothing to make our callers and readers happy. According to USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs information, transit through checkpoints at Brest, Shegini, Yagodin, Porubnoye, and Leusheny for citizens traveling abroad on private matters, and also as tourists using their own transport or buses, has been temporarily suspended pending a special directive. This decision was made by the local authorities in Belarus [Belorussia], the Ukraine, and Moldova as a result of the poor sanitary and epidemiological conditions that have developed on the approaches to the checkpoints owing to the buildup of a considerable number of people and motor vehicles.

It is becoming clearer that the restrictions do not affect Soviet citizens going abroad on business. People who have to leave because a close relative is ill or has died will also be let through. It is true that in cases such as this it will be necessary to arm oneself with a document confirming the fact.

For the information of car owners who want to risk leaving their vehicles in Brest and trying to cross the border by train: They will not sell you a ticket there, and you will not be allowed a seat in the railcar...

TASS Carries Press Review for 4 Dec

LD0412072991 Moscow TASS in English 0708 GMT 4 Dec 91

["Moscow Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow December 4 TASS—Moscow newspapers carry today an appeal of President Gorbachev to the country's legislators. He urged them to approve the draft treaty on the union of sovereign states.

LITERATURNAYA GAZETA publishes a large interview with Gorbachev. "The preservation of the state is above anything else for me," the Soviet president said.

Newspapers continue to give wide coverage to the results of the elections in the Ukraine. "The Ukraine has made one more step, following the example of Croatia, and the Soviet Union is now resolving the same problems as Yugoslavia before the armed conflict. The coincidence is horrifying. There is only one thing that may give us some hope: the 1941 war did not come between Ukrainians and Russians the way it did between Serbians and Croatians. Russians and Ukrainians shared with each other all sorrow and suffering. One would like to believe that we shall share the current problems too," KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA writes in its report from Belgrade.

"The situation, when the republics were just scattering in various directions from the former union, seems to be coming to a close. A period of regrouping and finding common interests is coming," another commentary, published by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, says.

"I am sure the passions connected with the Ukraine's independence will soon calm down. It will be no longer the sensation of the day ... New thinking, the relations with the union, the development of relations between the centre and the republics, the Gorbachev- Yeltsin and Bush-Gorbachev relations, a nuclear parity of the great powers will all become part of history. The problem of the economy will come to the limelight. No new world order can be achieved in case of an economic collapse of the former USSR ... After the war the United States did not hesitate to allocate two per cent of its Gross National Product for the assistance to Europe. Today a similar amount could help resolve many problems in this country," PRAVDA observer Tomas Kolesnichenko writes in an article dealing with the change of priorities in the foreign policy of the West.

Commenting on the decision of the Russian leadership to finance the federal budget from the republican sources, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA points out that in this way Russia is undertaking to "pay allowances for economic instability, specifically, to the Central Asian and Transcaucasian republics."

"What is it—a process of taking power by one president from the hands of the other, which came to a natural conclusion, or the creation of a new 'crystallisation centre' of an economic and political community?" the newspaper asks.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA carries an interview with Tatiana Koryagina, a sociologist, who believes the current economic reforms of the Russian leadership will result in the domination of "dirty money" in the Russian economy.

"If the Yeltsin doctrine is put into practice, I shall not hesitate to predict social upheavals. A period of Pugachev-like unrest is coming, and later, when people reach the limit of despair and hopelessness, the army will say its word, if it is not destroyed completely by that time," she writes.

"A critical situation is taking shape in all sectors of food production in the former Soviet Union," NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA writes. "This is fraught with serious social consequences and, in addition, it reflects the process of the reduction of consumption in general, which has not been fully comprehended so far and which may become the main restricting factor for the overcoming of the general economic crisis."

The newspaper publishes calculations of the centre for economic and political studies, which show that "a complete disintegration of the state system of food distribution may take place in 1993. Its political consequences are difficult to predict."

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA carries an interview with Major General A. Chaikovskiy, deputy head of the personnel department of the main office of the commander of the Soviet Interior Ministry troops. He said that 71 people had given themselves up after the coming into force of the law on amnesty for the servicemen who deserted their units. A total of 2,205 servicemen are wanted on this case.

"The amnesty law has not brought the desired effect. No wonder, because the ignoring of laws is a characteristic feature of our society in the current situation," General Chaikovskiy writes.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA writes with reference to the Soviet military intelligence that excavation began in Germany in the area where the famous Amber Room might have been hidden by the Nazis.

Economic

Extent of Foreign Food Import Credits Revealed

PM0312134191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Nov 91 Union Edition p 6

[Article by A. Sizov: "Credits We Have Already Eaten"]

[Text] Recently they have become the main source for purchasing food abroad. It is expected that in 1992 until the start of the new harvest the imported grain requirements of the sovereign republics (states) which acceded to the recently signed agreement on food supplies will increase to 50 million tonnes. Of these it is planned to buy 36 million tonnes with state credits and the rest with commercial credits. Let us recall that this year domestic grain purchases will be no more than 42-43 million tonnes. Credit is thus becoming the main source of all commodity receipts.

What credits the USSR (and that is the USSR, not the union of sovereign states since the "check" is still made out to the USSR) will receive is an open question. But the table compiled on the basis of the figures of the International Wheat Council and published in the Soviet press for the first time gives an idea of what the USSR will have to pay for in the next few years and who it will have to pay.

Main Credits Supplied to the USSR for the Import of Food in 1990-1991

CREDITOR COUNTRY	DATE CREDIT ANNOUNCED	SIZE OF CREDIT (in millions of dollars)	DELIVERY DATES, GOODS SUPPLIED	COMMENTS
a	b	c	d	e
Australia	December 1990	400	March-June 1991—Grain and Sheep products. Including 750,000 tonnes of wheat and 250,000 tonnes of barley worth $80 million	Deliveries complete
Canada	November 1990	885	October 1991—Wheat, durum, barley	
	October 1991	133	Agricultural and food goods	500,000 tonnes of corn sold 11 October 1991 for $56 million Credit for two years
EEC	December 1990	2,400	First delivery in the sum of $600 million includes 2.55 million tonnes of grain, 0.2 million tonnes of meat, 0.15 million tonnes of vegetable oil, 25,000 tonnes of dried milk, and 17,000 tonnes of rice	$900 million to render food aid, remaining $1,500 million is credit. It is planned to earmark $600-750 million of this amount to buy agricultural products in the East European countries with subsequent delivery to the USSR. Credit for the purchase of first consignment of food still not open
Germany		2,900	Food goods	Deliveries complete
	133		Barley, 1 million tonnes; wheat, 0.5 million tonnes	Bought 14 October 1991. Credit for two years.
Italy		56	Wheat, flour, durum, vegetable oil	
France	October 1990	260	Wheat, 1.5 million tonnes; barley, 0.5 million tonnes	Deliveries complete. Credit for two years with 95 percent state guarantee

Main Credits Supplied to the USSR for the Import of Food in 1990-1991 (Continued)

CREDITOR COUNTRY	DATE CREDIT ANNOUNCED	SIZE OF CREDIT (in millions of dollars)	DELIVERY DATES, GOODS SUPPLIED	COMMENTS
a	b	c	d	e
	February 1991	208	Wheat, 0.77 million tonnes; barley, 0.75 million tonnes. Meat and meat products	Deliveries complete. Same terms. Right now credit is being discussed for purchase of 1 million tonnes of wheat
United States	December 1990	2,500	Fiscal 1991 and 1992. Grain, soya groats, poultry meat, almonds, hops, soy protein extract	Credit for three years. A 100 percent state guarantee. By 28 October 1991 some 10 million tonnes of feed grain, 5 million tonnes of wheat and wheat flour, 2.1 million tonnes of groats, 0.8 million tonnes of soybeans, and 54,000 tonnes of poultry meat had been bought
Turkey	May 1991	200	For purchase of 1.08 million tonnes of wheat, 352,000 tonnes of flour, and 20,000 tonnes of pasta	

Although the figures are incomplete (as a rule countries prefer not to reveal many details of their credit agreements), nonetheless it is possible to draw certain conclusions. First, we are buying what our creditors themselves supply us with and not what we would like. For instance, perhaps in the present situation there would be some point in importing more food wheat from the United States, but it is unclear whether the creditor will agree to that. Second, recently we have taken virtually no short-term commercial credits. It has become very hard to pay for them. But obviously we cannot do without them next year and the terms for paying off debts as a whole will become harder for the countries of the Union of Sovereign States. Third, credits guaranteed by the state, although they are granted for two to three years, are given under varying terms. While the U.S. Government gives a 100 percent guarantee of the return of the credit to the banks which have provided it, France gives a 95 percent guarantee. The differences would not seem that important but for many banks they are substantial. Finally, let us note the varying degrees of promptness in issuing and using credits. The EEC announced credit a year ago but in reality it is not open even for the purchase of the first consignment of food. Other creditors, primarily the United States, Canada, and Germany, operate with a far greater understanding of the former Soviet Union's growing food difficulties.

Next year credit requirements will probably grow. Then the main peak for extinguishing food debts will be in 1994. And if by that time there has been no tangible animation in the economy, then the countries making up the USSR or the union of sovereign states will be obliged to declare themselves international bankrupts. And on the other hand it is absolutely obvious that we cannot count on stabilizing and reviving the economy without a food "injection" from the West.

Military

Deputy Minister on Strategic Missile Forces

PM1911115591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Nov 91 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Army General Yu. Maksimov, commander in chief of the Strategic Missile Forces and USSR deputy defense minister, by Major A. Dolinin; place and date of interview not given: "Army General Yu. Maksimov: Motherland's Missile Shield Should Preserve Reliability"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] On the eve of Missile Forces and Artillery Day our correspondent met with Army General Yuriy Pavlovich Maksimov, commander in chief of the Strategic Missile Forces and USSR deputy defense minister. The talk which took place, however, was by no means of a "festive" nature. It was devoted to the present and future of the Strategic Missile Forces and the missile men's complex problems.

[Dolinin] Yuriy Pavlovich, the positive changes in the military-political situation which have taken place in the world in recent years have substantially reduced the threat of the outbreak of nuclear war. In this connection what are the role and function of our strategic nuclear forces under the new conditions?

[Maksimov] You are right: The threat of a world nuclear missile war and a wide-scale military conflict has now in practice been reduced to a minimum. But the positive changes in the military-political and military-strategic situation have by no means removed the problem of our country's security. Judge for yourself. The Warsaw Pact has been dissolved yet the NATO bloc remains. The United States has not renounced its "from a position of strength" policy and is leading matters to the point where, to use G. Bush's expression, a new world order will be unipolar with a leading role for the United States on the basis of the conservation of its military and economic might. The main avenues of the improvement of the U.S. Armed Forces—the priority implementation of long-term programs for the development of strategic offensive arms and the continuation of work on the SDI program—also remain unchanged.

All this makes it possible to conclude that the military danger for our country has not ceased to be a reality. That means that together with political measures, it is sensible to resolve the task of preserving peace and preventing war on condition that military-strategic parity is maintained with a consideration for our state's course toward the substantial reduction of the level of military confrontation. A very important role here also belongs to the country's strategic nuclear forces, of which the Strategic Missile Forces are the basis.

[Dolinin] Right now the country's military-political leadership is studying new approaches toward building the Armed Forces. In your view, what changes will take place in the Strategic Missile Forces?

[Maksimov] You know that within the framework of the forthcoming reform it is proposed to create a system of Union and republic organs of defense. It is proposed to transfer to civilian ministries some of the functions of deciding defense questions. There will be a change to the branches of the Armed Forces and their tasks and organizational and staff structures. In practice many reform measures are already being implemented in the Missile Troops. There is the reduction of a number of formations and units, the abolition of the intermediate-range missiles—a whole class of missiles—the upgrading of a number of units to form complexes with better qualitative specifications, the reduction of the numerical strength of troops and organs of management... The implementation of the Strategic Offensive Arms Limitation treaty is next in line. And in the near future there will be the creation of a new type of Armed Forces—the strategic deterrent forces which in addition to other components of the Strategic Nuclear Forces will be based on the strategic missile forces.

The process of implementing military reform will be continued for quite a long time. Here there will be organizational and staff changes and it is planned to optimize the structure of management of troops and weapons. There will be an increase in their combat capability, mobility, tenacity, and ability to overcome ABM systems and strike targets with any degree of defense.

All this should ensure the maintenance of the existing military-strategic parity at a lower level and at the same time the missile forces' reliable solution of the tasks set them.

[Dolinin] How will these radical changes affect the fate of the present missilemen?

[Maksimov] As of now we have virtually completed the deployment of officers released during the implementation of the treaty on the elimination of intermediate and shorter-range missiles. The overwhelming majority have gone to swell the numbers in areas which are at present understaffed or have been appointed to posts in place of those who have been released into the reserve for reasons of age. All this work has been performed without serious rebukes from the officers. Not one of them has been released without pension rights and stipulated benefits, except for those who have discharged for failing to meet the requirements of their posts or who have received a dishonorable discharge. We have the firm conviction that during the implementation of the treaty on strategic offensive arms which has been signed, the fate of each officer will also be resolved with tact and attention.

At the same time I shall stress that as before we shall experience a great shortage of cadres for primary officers posts. That is why any arguments by a certain section of young officers and military school cadets of the missile forces to the effect that they cannot see any future in service are without foundation.

[Dolinin] But today voices are being heard increasingly frequently about the reduction of the strategic nuclear arms right up to their complete destruction...

[Maksimov] Indeed, an enormous nuclear potential has been accumulated in the world which could destroy everything living on earth many times over. Therefore there is simply no alternative to its reduction, right up to its complete elimination. But here we must not forget the realities which have taken shape in the world. Primarily the balance of nuclear forces between the USSR and the United States and the other nuclear powers. This equilibrium can be destroyed both by the further arms race and by unilateral disarmament. After all it is dangerous not only to climb a steep hill but also to climb down.

In order in the future to reduce still further the threat of the outbreak of war it is essential to ensure strategic nuclear stability by preserving parity of forces. Here the level of nuclear arms should be reduced on a mutual basis. This is now being demonstrated by the United States and the USSR as states with the most powerful nuclear potential. Subsequently I hope that this process will also be joined by Britain and France. For instance, in the Strategic Missile Forces it is planned to make a 30 percent reduction to the number of missile launchers and a more than 50 percent reduction to the number of warheads over the course of seven years. Stationary missile complexes will be subject to reduction. Mobile complexes which ensure a high degree of tenacity in retaliatory actions, as most fully according with the defensive nature of Soviet military doctrine, do not come under this treaty.

[Dolinin] Political stability is also needed to preserve peace. But the collapse of the USSR is continuing. Will the declaration of state independence by a number of former Union republics affect the fate of the country's strategic forces and the possibility of ratifying the treaty on the reduction of strategic offensive arms?

[Maksimov] I am deeply convinced that only a renewed united Union and united Armed Forces of our state can ensure effective sovereignty, independence, and security both for the country as a whole and for each individual republic. On the other hand without the joint efforts of all republics it is impossible to retain a modern army, whose maintenance is no simple matter even for the Union. Still less is it within the economic powers of an individual republic. That is why my opinion of the fate of the strategic nuclear forces and in particular the missile forces is absolutely unequivocal: They must be united, remain for the time being within their existing grouping and be managed centrally. This is also mentioned in the resolution of the fifth Congress of USSR People's Deputies and in the November decision of the country's State Council. That is why in ratifying the strategic offensive arms treaty I believe there should be no substantial obstacles from the republics. Its ratification and implementation accords with their interests since it is one more step toward reducing the nuclear danger for all and the reduction of the level of military confrontation in the world.

We must also consider something else. The resolution of the fifth Congress of USSR People's Deputies instructed the country's president, Supreme Soviet, and State Council to ensure the continuity of power in the transitional period and to observe unconditionally all international agreements and commitments adopted by the USSR, including those on questions of arms reduction and control. So far our country has been and remains a united nuclear power and a single possessor of nuclear weapons. Their proliferation is banned by international treaties and no one is permitted to act in such a way that instead of a single nuclear power—the USSR—several appear within the framework of the country. On the international plane we do not have the legal right to do this.

[Dolinin] Will new problems arise with regard to the provision of weapons and military equipment for the missile forces under the conditions of the conversion of the defense sectors of industry and the market economy?

[Maksimov] Conversion has now encompassed virtually all defense industry enterprises ensuring deliveries of weapons and equipment to the missile forces. Under the conditions of the shortage of consumer goods in our country, the use of this powerful scientific and technical and production potential will undoubtedly make it possible to improve the quality and volume of general-purpose output. But I would highlight two aspects in this problem.

First, to preserve the necessary level for the defense industry in the process of conversion we need a unified state conversion program. Right now its elaboration is being complicated by the lack of a Union Treaty and by existing differences in views between the sovereign republics and the center as to the aims and methods of conversion. In this situation it is essential primarily to preserve the existing scientific and technical and production potential of the defense industry and the cooperation in the development and production of missile weapons which has taken shape in the country over a long period. The defense enterprises which produce output solely for the missile forces are now situated on the territories of a number of republics and from the viewpoint of safeguarding the country's security the destruction of their production ties is impermissible.

And the second aspect. The transition to market relations, to contract and free prices under the conditions of the restriction of expenditure on defense create considerable difficulties in the fulfillment of the planned programs for the essential qualitative improvement of the Strategic Missile Forces. In addition urgent measures will be needed to prevent the drain of highly skilled specialists from defense enterprises.

It must be supposed that all these difficulties connected with the transitional period will be overcome with time.

[Dolinin] And a last question, Yuriy Pavlovich. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA readers, remembering the events of those three days in August, are raising particularly keenly the question of the control of nuclear forces. How safe is our country and the whole world today from the unauthorized use of nuclear weapons?

[Maksimov] I repeat my reminder that our military doctrine, which is of a defensive nature, provides for the use of nuclear weapons only in retaliatory actions. During the days of August 1991 no one threatened us with nuclear weapons so that means that they could not be used on our side.

As for the danger of the use of nuclear weapons because of an error or deliberate actions by individual violators or groups of people, then the protection system existing in the Strategic Missile Forces provides multiple safeguards against the use of nuclear weapons and rules out the possibility of one person making a decision and using them without authorization. So that any blackmail or pressure under those conditions was ruled out. In addition through the additional organizational and technical measures which have been adopted the ensuring of nuclear safety was strengthened even more at that moment and the system for the protection of nuclear weapons functioned irreproachably.

I want to stress that the missile troops are too serious a branch of the Armed Forces to be drawn into any political adventures.

Future of Aerospace Defense System Pondered

PM0412153191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Report on interview with Colonel General of Aviation V. Prudnikov, commander in chief of the Air Defense Forces, by correspondent Major A. Ivanov; place and date not given: "View of the Problem: What Should Aerospace Defense Be Like?"—first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] What does the future hold for the Air Defense Forces following the creation of a new branch of the Armed Forces—the Strategic Deterrence Forces? What effect will the dismemberment of the current unified system's component parts—missile early warning systems, ABM defense, control of space—have on our combat capabilities and what kind of structure should they have under present conditions?

Our correspondent Major A. Ivanov met Colonel General of Aviation V. Prudnikov, commander in chief of the Air Defense Forces and USSR deputy defense minister, and asked him to answer these questions.

[Prudnikov] Contemporary offensive aerospace weapons today are capable of independently performing strategic as well as operational tasks and, in some cases, determining the outcome of a war before ground forces are brought into the battle. This was confirmed by events in the Persian Gulf area. Therefore, despite the substantial easing of international tension, developed countries are continuing their work to improve offensive aerospace weapons and means of using them in combat. The day when these weapons will be capable of operating at virtually all altitudes—from the lowest to outer space—under a single concept can be said to be near at hand. Thus, the aerospace is a unified indivisible sphere for potential military operations. And we must be ready for that.

Possible large-scale enemy operations in air and space must be countered by retaliatory defensive measures on an equal scale, forcing the enemy to renounce his objectives. An extremely complex task. It can only be accomplished by forces equipped with modern arms and organized into a definite system with a single centralized command. In other words, it is a question of developing an aerospace defense system for the country as the most important component of the Armed Forces in conditions of defensive military doctrine.

Obviously any single sovereign state that is part of the renewed Union is incapable of creating such a system. On the basis of common security interests, the system must be built on the territories of all republics and must perform defensive functions within a single aerospace.

The foundations of this system are laid in the current air defense structure. It undoubtedly requires substantial reorganization and retooling. But the main point—and I am profoundly convinced of this—is for it to be a unified system. Any fragmentation of Aerospace Defense Forces (be it in terms of republics or in terms of branches of the Armed Forces) will inevitably result in considerable expenditure on developing parallel command structures. That is costly, particularly today, and ineffective.

Given the reduction in defense spending, it is hard to develop mighty groupings of Aerospace Defense Forces in all areas of the country. So, we must have mobile Aerospace Defense Forces that can swiftly be moved from one sector to another. And that is only possible with centralized command.

Systems like that operate successfully in the United States and NATO. Control of all Aerospace Defense Forces is exercised at centralized level. It is typical that, regardless of the changes in NATO countries' political leadership, the unity of Aerospace Defense and its component—air defense—remains unchanged. They continue to strengthen and grow.

Aerospace defense must incorporate comprehensive reconnaissance and aerospace attack warning systems along with space-missile and air defense. In peacetime they can be tasked with monitoring air and space, reconnaissance and warning, and guarding the sovereign republics' state borders. In wartime—with defending highly important troop groupings, military and state command posts, military and economic installations, communications, and the Union states' administrative and political centers against air and space strikes. The composition and numerical strength of the aerospace defense forces must be such that they can repulse the first such massive strikes.

A special role is allotted to aerospace reconnaissance whose data may cause decisions on retaliatory action to be promptly made. But such data can only be obtained through the comprehensive use of data received through radiotechnical, radar, and other kinds of ground, air, and space reconnaissance.

All republics currently have elements of a reconnaissance and warning system. Dividing them up among the national armies will cause the destruction of the unified whole, and receiving information through collaboration—as has been proved on several occasions—is ineffective.

In peacetime—in conjunction with a single air traffic control system—aerospace defense monitors compliance by all departments' aircraft with the procedure for use of air space and for crossing the state border. This task can only be performed successfully with a single radar field across the entire country. Imagine for a minute all the sovereign republics creating their own radar reconnaissance and air traffic control systems. Given the current intensity of air traffic, particularly in the western part of the country, and the existence of international air corridors over our territory, no single air traffic control center could perform its task without information from a unified radar system. Without such a system it is impossible to help aircraft in distress.

So, the union of sovereign states' aerospace defense system must be unified. Its role in modern warfare has risen considerably. It is also an important strategic factor for deterring an aggressor. I think that it is the duty of the political and military leadership in the sovereign states which join the Union to promote the development of an aerospace defense system as a guarantee for the security and the strengthening of the sovereignty of each state and of the Union as a whole.

Baltic Affairs

USSR, Republics To Discuss Troop Withdrawal

OW0512051691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2106 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Representatives of Baltic states will be invited to attend a meeting of the State Council of the USSR which is scheduled for December 9 and which will perhaps address the question of withdrawing Soviet troops from Baltia. This was revealed by General Vladimir Semyonov, Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet Army, at an unofficial meeting of Latvian parliamentarians responsible for defense matters and high-ranking Soviet military officers on December 4 in Riga. General Semyonov also said that inter-state talks between the USSR and Latvia are yet to get under way, which naturally results in the settlement of the question of Soviet troop withdrawals being put off until a later date.

At the same time, General Semyonov stressed, the high command of Soviet armed forces believes it necessary that troops be withdrawn in a civilised manner, with due observance of all human rights. He pointed out that realities may not be shrugged off and therefore unless guarantees are provided for officers' families, troop pullout before 1994 is out of the question.

States To Sign Paris Charter 6 Dec

OW0512032591 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1610 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On December 6, in Paris, heads of the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian parliaments Arnold Ruutel, Anatoliy Gorbunovs and Vytautas Landsbergis will sign the Paris charter on a new Europe. The ceremony will be attended by French President Francois Mitterrand.

Estonia

Foreign Minister Calls For UN Troops

LD0412185491 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1700 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Text] The Estonian foreign minister, Lennart Meri, has called for the sending of the United Nations force to the Baltic states. He said the aim of the action would be to deter a threat from the Soviet Union. The Estonian foreign minister, paying a private visit to Bonn, said in an interview on the Deutschlandfunk radio station that the Soviet Union continued to refuse to pull its troops out of his republic. Lennart Meri believes that the sending of the United Nations peacekeeping force would reduce the risk of violent conflicts in the northeast of Europe.

Further on UN Deployment

LD0412095891 Hamburg DPA in German 0739 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Text] Cologne (DPA)—Estonian Foreign Minister Lennart Meri has come out in favor of the deployment of UN troops in his country. The Soviet Union has so far refused to reduce its troops stationed in Estonia in accordance with the treaty, the Estonian politician said on Deutschlandfunk radio Wednesday [4 December].

He was disturbed that "Soviet paratroopers are still stationed only 45 minutes from the parliament in Tallinn," he said. The deployment of UN troops in the Baltics could therefore help to prevent possible violent conflicts in northeastern Europe. UN troops, Meri went on to say, should in the future not be used "as a last resort." In view of the threatening dangers in the Soviet Union, they could dampen crises. Such a UN deployment would, in Meri's view, also support democratic forces in the other former Soviet republics.

Meri is currently in Bonn at the invitation of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation.

Parliament Chairman on USSR Negotiations

OW0512032691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1610 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "We are going through a transitional period," said Chairman of the Estonian parliament, Mr. Arnold Ruutel, commenting on the current state of the Soviet-Estonian talks.

After his meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in Moscow on December 4, he said that the talks had begun but the date of the next round had not been set yet.

The first meeting between the Soviet and Estonian official delegations took place on November 10.

Mr. Ruutel said that with Eduard Shevardnadze they discussed "some of the most critical problems: the elimination of military facilities from the republic, the border issue and the social problem facing the ethnic Russians living in Estonia. [no closing quotations as received] The two sides spoke in favour of gradual withdrawal of the Soviet troops, said Mr. Ruutel.

Asked about possible replacement of leaders of the Soviet delegations to the talks with the Baltic states, Mr. Ruutel said that such replacement may take place. Mr. Shevardnadze was too busy performing his new duties, while Mr. Sobchak, he said, was occupied with the economic problems facing St. Petersburg.

As was earlier reported, Anatoliy Sobchak and Eduard Shevardnadze are the current leaders of the Soviet delegations to the talks with Estonia and Lithuania.

Mr. Ruutel also said that during the talks with the Soviet President's adviser Aleksandr Yakovlev on the same day in Moscow, the two sides achieved "mutual understanding on the problem".

"We should tackle all issues in such a way as to ease the position of the Soviet Union which is confronted with serious economic and political problems," he said.

Official Unaware of Soviet Delegation Change

OW0512011691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1510 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Mr. Ago Tiiman, Chief of the Estonian Coordinating Bureau for talks with the USSR, told BF [BALTFAX] that the USSR had not officially informed the Estonian side of the change of the leader of the Soviet delegation to talks with Estonia.

Earlier, this post had been offered to Mayor of St. Petersburg, Mr. Anatoliy Sobchak.

As was reported already, on November 28, USSR Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Anatoliy Kovalyov, informed Latvia's Charge d'Affaires in Moscow, Mr. Janis Peters, that Aleksandr Yakovlev would not lead the Soviet delegation to talks with Latvia. On November 29, Mr. Vitaliy Churkin said at a briefing in the Soviet foreign ministry that the leaders of the Soviet delegations to talks with the Baltic states might be replaced.

Mr. Tiiman said that the Estonian foreign ministry had sent the USSR an official inquiry hoping to receive an answer this week.

He also expressed the opinion that the talks would be held by delegations formed by the two countries' foreign ministries. "This means," he remarked, "that the talks will be wore professional and less emotional".

Ambassador to USSR Reportedly Selected

OW0512011591 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1510 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At all appearances, Estonia's Charge d'Affaires in Moscow, Mr. Yuriy Kahn, will be appointed Ambassador of Estonia to the USSR.

According to sources close to the Estonian parliament, Mr. Kahn's candidature was approved by the Estonian parliament's Commission for Foreign Affairs.

Latvia

Republic Recognizes Ukraine Independence

LD0512100991 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0530 GMT 5 Dec 91

[Excerpt] The Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia today recognized the independence of the Ukraine, and diplomatic relations between Latvia and Ukraine will be established soon. [passage omitted]

Riga, Russia To Sign Interstate Agreement

OW0512051591 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2106 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] An official delegation of Latvia led by Chairman of the Supreme Council Anatolijs Gorbunovs is arriving in Moscow on December 5 to sign an agreement on the fundamental principles of inter-state relations between Russia and Latvia. This was revealed by First Deputy Chairman of Russia's Supreme Soviet, Mr. Sergey Filatov, when he met journalists on Wednesday [4 December].

Although an inter-state agreement was signed by Latvia and Russia only last winter, a telephone conversation between the presidents of the two republics some weeks ago resulted in an understanding to prepare and sign a new inter-state agreement.

Lithuania

Government Statement on Ukraine Independence

LD0412170491 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1150 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Statement adopted by the Lithuanian Supreme Council on 4 December on recognition of the Ukraine's independence]

[Text] The Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania recognizes and respects the sovereign will expressed by the 1 December 1991 referendum of the people of the Ukraine on the independence of the Ukraine. The Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania expresses its satisfaction that friendly and good-neighborly relations based on the principles consolidated in the UN statute are developing between the Ukraine and the Republic of Lithuania, members of the UN organization. The Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania is convinced that the nations of the Ukraine and Lithuania will foster mutual respect and trust, inherited from the past generations, which will serve to the benefit of cooperation among all European nations. The Supreme Council supports the agreement of 1 November 1991 between the governments of the Republic of Lithuania and the Ukraine to establish diplomatic relations and to exchange diplomatic representatives at the level of ambassadors.

Official Criticizes Gorbachev TV Statement

LD0412165891 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Remarks by Lithuanian Supreme Council press spokesman Audrius Azubalis at Supreme Council news briefing in Vilnius on 4 December—recorded]

[Text] I would like to dwell on the television statement made by the president of the Soviet Union yesterday in which he maintained that Russians are oppressed in the Baltic states. It is not clear where the president got such information. There could be two possibilities: First, the information comes from the putschists who are wanted by the Lithuanian Procuracy and who, according to our knowledge, have found refuge in the Moscow Oblast. They have supplied the Soviet leadership with such so-called facts before. If this is so, then it is only regrettable that the president is associating with such people, who almost overthrew him from his presidential throne.

The second possibility is that this is only a figment of the Soviet president's imagination; this does not do him honor as a politician. This is because, in fact, statements such as these mean stirring up nationality feuds in a neighboring country, in neighboring countries, when at the same time nationality feuds are taking place in reality in his own country. Therefore, one should take care of one's own country first, look for solutions to problems in one's own country, and not try to divert the attention of one's own fellow citizens from topical to fabricated issues by saying, look, Russians are being oppressed in the Baltic countries.

I can only express my regrets that a politician of such caliber should allow himself to make statements of this kind.

Landsbergis Comments

OW0412161791 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1510 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Mr. Vytautas Landsbergis, Chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, made a statement concerning Mikhail Gorbachev's speech on Soviet TV on December 3.

Mr. Gorbachev said, among other things, that ethnic Russians living in Lithuania were discriminated against.

The statement says that "letters of complaints sent to Moscow were inspired two years ago, when violet actions to frustrate the Baltic plans to restore independence were contemplated."

Mr. Landsbergis stated that "given Mikhail Gorbachev's knowledge of the KGB's armed underground activity in Lithuania", his words and anxiety over the future of ethnic Russians, should arouse the world community's concern about the security of the Baltic countries.

Leader Urges Early Institution of Presidency

LD0412233791 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 0200 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Text] Vytautas Landsbergis has stated that the institution of Lithuania's president should be introduced without much delay. In his traditional Sunday [1 December] evening television broadcast, he positively assessed the idea of Lithuania's Sajudis on presidential elections, noting that the problems have been accumulating and a decision should be taken soon.

According to Vytautas Landsbergis, the introduction of the institution of president and the elections of the president should not be a matter of fierce struggles, but, as the speaker put it, a consultation, an agreement, or a selection.

Vytautas Landsbergis urged people to rally around the Sajudis once again, which is preparing for its third congress.

Speaking of the present situation in Lithuania, Vytautas Landsbergis described it as debts which are becoming ever more reckless.

The efforts of the KGB, helped by Lithuanian assistants, to set through the Swedish, Norwegian, German, Dutch, and Finnish press the societies and politicians of those countries against Lithuania and stop economic aid were described by Landsbergis as pitiful. Vytautas Landsbergis has directly and indirectly accused ex-Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene as regards these and other matters.

Republic Says Russia Not Prepared for Trade

LD0512032091 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0200 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Text] Vytas Navickas, deputy minister of the economy, stated in a television broadcast that Lithuania is ready to trade next year with Russia at world prices and to make payments in dollars. According to him, Russia is lagging behind in preparing the necessary documents. Vytas Navickas announced that next Friday [6 December] he intends to meet in Moscow with Russia's Finance and Economy Minister Yegor Gaydar to discuss these problems. Navickas says that in regard to Russian proposals, Lithuania's experts started preparing for payments at world prices in the middle of last summer. They have already drawn up all the necessary documents, but Russia's representatives have not done so. The Lithuanian experts estimate that Lithuania will purchase approximately $2 billion in goods from Russia and will sell the same quantity. So far there has been no agreement on the system of customs clearance and other problems.

Cable Urges Start of Talks on Army Status

PM0412144591 Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 27 Nov 91 p 1

[ELTA report: "Cable to Moscow"]

[Text] Deputy Lithuanian Prime Minister Zigmas Vaisvila has sent a cable to USSR Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov which says:

According to information available to us, the USSR Defense Ministry air defense missile units providing protection for Ignalina Nuclear Power Station are preparing for redeployment. Bearing in mind the special importance of ensuring this facility's security, we request that you redeploy western forces only under a separate understanding with the Lithuanian Republic Government. We also draw your attention to the fact that the indeterminate status of military units on Lithuanian Republic territory complicates the solution of social, everyday, and other problems affecting Soviet Army servicemen and members of their families, especially as the time limit for self-determination by taking Lithuanian Republic citizenship expired 4 November 1991 and privatization has begun. Therefore responsibility for dragging out the talks rests with the Soviet side, and Soviet Army servicemen living in Lithuania realize this. The Lithuanian Republic Government requests that you speed up the start of talks and the reaching of an appropriate understanding.

Official Comments on Withdrawal Negotiations

OW0412014491 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1500 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Mr. Egidijus Bickauskas, the Lithuania Charge d' Affairs in Moscow, told BF [BALTFAX] that so far it was difficult to name the date for the beginning of the Soviet-Lithuanian talks.

He said it was still unclear who would be Lithuania's partner—the USSR, or a new union state, or Russia herself.

"Both Lithuania and the Soviet Union seem to have taken wait-and-see position," he said.

Asked to comment on an anonymous Soviet diplomat's statement to the effect that Lithuania was not prepared for the talks, Mr. Bickauskas said that recently he had heard such an estimate from a diplomat in Eduard Shevardnadze's entourage.

"I don't think his assessment is fair," said Mr. Bickauskas. During several unoffical meetings the Soviet side attempted to start negotiations without even defining the subject of the talks, he added.

"I'm afraid the Soviet side would like to perpetuate the Soviet Army's status in Lithuania. This is unacceptable for us," he said. Mr. Bickauskas rejected the allegations that Lithuania insisted on an unrealistically fast withdrawal of the Soviet troops from its territory. "I venture to assert that Lithuania understood how complicated the problem was," said the Lithuanian Republic's Charge d'Affaires in Moscow. "But from the Soviet side we have not heard a single statment about the need to withdraw the troops."

Defense Minister on Norwegian Assistance

PM0412150091 Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 28 Nov 91 p 8

[Olav Trygge Storvik report: "Lithuania Wants Help With Its Defenses"]

[Text] "We want help and support from the Norwegian authorities and Norwegian reserve officers in building up our own national defenses," Lithuanian Defense Minister Audrius Butkevicius told AFTENPOSTEN.

Butkevicius is taking part in a conference on security policy in northern Europe arranged by the Norwegian Foreign Policy Institute. Yesterday, he had talks with Defense Minister Johan Jorgen Holst and the leadership of the Association of Norwegian Reserve Officers (NROF). The talks dealt with the situation in the region around the Baltic Sea, Lithuania's future position in the security map of Europe, and the possibility of military support from Norway in building up Lithuania's national defenses.

"We need assistance in most military fields," Butkevicius said. "This applies both to arms and other equipment, and in particular, to instructors who can train our future officers." Butkevicius himself does not have a military background. He is a doctor by training, but during the crisis at the parliament building in Vilnius he was given the task of organizing the defense of the building. He carried out the task so well that he was later appointed defense minister.

At NROF, Butkevicius was received with great goodwill by its chairman, Major Erik Svein Sjomaeling, and Secretary General Odd G. Norum. Lieutenant Colonel Torgeir Stensrud, who is president of the NATO organization of reserve officers, was also present. All were positive toward closer cooperation with Lithuania. "What is of crucial importance for us is that the government should give the go-ahead for closer cooperation. If it does so, we will urge our members to take on jobs as instructors in the buildup of a Lithuanian army," Sjomaeling said. "In principle we say 'yes' to cooperation, but we need the go-ahead before we take any action. But despite this we can envisage making contact with a corresponding organization of Lithuanian officers," Sjomaeling said.

Butkevicius told AFTENPOSTEN that Vilnius is seeking cooperation with Norway for reasons of principle. "We have just won our freedom and independence. This is why we do not want to initiate too close cooperation with larger states," he said, without mentioning Germany by name. "We have also studied the

Norwegian defense system, the organization of mobilization forces, and the idea of total defenses. We find this very interesting and would like to copy the Norwegian model," he said.

In the longer term, and in parallel with the construction of a national defense force, Butkevicius sees for Lithuania some form of link with a Western security system. The concept of "neutrality" does not have a positive ring in Butkevicius' ears, and even though he is not thinking in terms of membership of a Western defense organization like NATO, he does see a place for Lithuania in the slightly longer term in a West European political security system.

In the meanwhile the Soviet forces still in Lithuania are causing some concern. Butkevicius is expecting a major crisis in the Soviet Union—he used the words "military coup"—in the course of the next two months. The Lithuanians have good contacts with Soviet officers and think that they are well informed about the situation that is developing. Four Soviet divisions are still in Lithuania, and the question is: How will they behave if there is a coup in Moscow? "We ought to have a national 'rapid mobilization force' which could stabilize the situation in Lithuania if there were to be any unrest," Butkevicius said, "but we do not have much time."

On Controversy Over Arming Troops

LD0412195891 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2230 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Excerpts] The Lithuanian Liberty League and representatives of some other radical forces staged a picket outside the parliament building this morning demanding to arm the Lithuanian troops. The speakers voiced harsh criticism of the National Defense Minister Audrius Butkevicius for his allegedly conscious delay in handing out arms to the volunteers. The minister told the picketers that he considered arming the troops his most important task, pointing out, however, that so far no one wanted to sell arms to Lithuania officially. The Soviets are elusive about starting negotiations on the issue of handing over armaments deployed on Lithuania's territory to the republic. The Western states and some Eastern European countries are also cautious as, according to the minister, they link the selling of arms with certain commitments and do not want to thus get involved in any conflicts between Lithuania and other states if such broke out. [passage omitted]

Audrius Butkevicius reported that the Lithuanian troops now numbered about 10,000 people—5,000 in the border defense and another 5,000 in the guard of state installations, power systems, and in prompt action units. The formation of detachments of interior troops subordinate to the Interior Ministry is under way too.

On Anti-Semiticism Allegations

PM0412155691 Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 30 Nov 91 p 14

[Paul Einar Vatne report: "Lithuania Rejects Allegations"]

[Text] The Lithuanian defense minister yesterday hit back forcefully at allegations that his country is on its way to becoming a fascist dictatorship. These are allegations that the KGB has put in circulation to smear us, said Audrius Butkevicius, who is currently taking part in a conference in Oslo.

"We are fighting against a tide of rumors that has its origins in the KGB," said Defense Minister Butkevicius, who in civilian life was a doctor. He said that there are still provocations on the border between Lithuania and the Soviet Union. The agents provocateurs are paid from Belorussia—not by the government, but from funds still in the hands of the Communist Party.

The defense minister has around 4,000 soldiers at his disposal and these are deployed along the border as guards. At present Lithuania has no other military forces. Lithuania is demanding the withdrawal of Soviet Russian forces from Lithuanian territory. There are still four divisions, or 60,000 men, from the Red Army in the country.

"We fear a coup in the Soviet Union in the course of the winter. The situation is becoming more and more unstable, and we can expect a crisis within a few months. It could happen that the military will take power, but this need not necessarily mean a coup in the usual sense."

Defense Minister Butkevicius said that there are three myths in particular about his country that Lithuanians are struggling to rebuff:

"That nationalist forces are strong in Lithuania, that anti-Semitism is on the increase, and that things are moving toward a dictatorship. This is a conscious action by our enemies to smear us in the eyes of Western opinion and to create divisions in Lithuania.

"The idea behind it seems to be that if there is a crisis in our country, no help will come from our friends in the West," he said.

"The Jews came to Lithuania in the fourteenth century after an invitation from Prince Gediminas. He guaranteed their safety and granted them the right to engage in trade. In the period from when the first Jews arrived and right up to 1940, there was never a pogrom in Lithuania. In the last war the Germans did not even succeed in setting up an SS battalion of Lithuanians. The Germans were forced to make use of criminals to get anything done to the country's Jews. Those are the actual facts," Butkevicius said emphatically. "But in Belorussia, the Ukraine, Latvia, and Estonia there were SS battalions made up from the countries' own populations.

"When it comes to the rehabilitation of Nazi war criminals, I have the following to say:

"During the war many Lithuanians were deported to Siberia. These people were sentenced by martial courts, not by proper courts. The vast majority were innocent. They had not committed any crime. Since we declared independence, 35,000 people who were deported have applied for rehabilitation. We have managed to deal with the cases of 16,000 of these people—and 500 applications for rehabilitation have been rejected."

The defense minister was very firm when he said:

"We will never allow criminals—whether they are fascists or communists—to have an opportunity to hold meetings on our soil. On this we will not budge an inch."

Journalists' Strike Gains Momentum

OW0412214791 Moscow BALTFAX in English
2106 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On December 4 the Lithuanian government issued a decree allowing journalists to receive any kind of information which is not secret. It also authorised the communications ministry to return to five striking newspapers, Respublika, Tiesa, Lietuvos Rytas, Vecherniye novosti and Valsteciu Laikrastis, the money withdrawn from their bank accounts to cover the higher delivery expenses caused by the raising of the rates without the consent of the editorial. This means that the government has met at least two of the strikers' demands.

On December [word indistinct] the strikers' representatives had a meeting with the editorial boards of the central weeklies and journalists from some district papers at which a strike committee was set up. The meeting decided that unless the government met all the demands this week none of the publications represented at the meeting would appear.

The strikers have already been joined by the staffs of the weeklies Gimtasis Krastas, Vilniaus Laikrastis, Mazoji Lietuva, Atgimimas, Literatura ir Menas and Forumas, as well as some other, less known publications and the Journalists' Union of Lithuania.

The meeting also passed a decision according to which the striking journalists would not attend Premier Gediminas Vagnorius' press conference unless their demands were met by December 5.

The strike committee issued an appeal to all journalists calling on them to "use every means at their disposal to help the publications fighting for freedom of the press, a guarantee of democracy".

Sajudis Issues Statement on Radio, TV Staff

LD0512031991 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network
in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 4 Dec 91

["Statement by the Vilnius City Sajudis conference on 3 December" read by "Deputy Pranciskus Tupikas, member of the Vilnius City Sajudis Council"]

[Text] During the entire period of occupation, the mass media was an instrument for lies, coercion, and the genocide of the nation, because the media was ruled by the Communists and the KGB structures.

After the restoration of statehood, most of the mass media workers support the statehood, the truth, and the reinforcement of [words indistinct].

However, some journalists, heads of the radio and television and the council of directors continue their ruinous activity in Lithuania and abroad. They are supported by the mafia and the camouflaged nomenklatura who were appointed in the times of the Communist Party Central Committee. These days the pages of the pro-Communist newspapers, imitating press restrictions, are blank, which is what their faces are. So good riddance. Lithuania does not want a gutter press, because the work of the Supreme Council and the government is destroyed and instability increased by the entire pro-Communist press. The Vilnius City Sajudis Council supports the actions of the government and the public in restructuring the work of the mass media and demand:

1. Not to give in to the harmful activities of the Communist nomenklatura and the activity of the KGB camouflaged behind the independent press.

2. To replace the council of directors of radio and TV as soon as possible, because the media must honestly serve the interests of Lithuania, here and abroad.

3. The public be told about the implementation of the above demands. This statement must be published by the press and announced on television and radio.

The statement at the conference was adopted unanimously.

Citizenship Referendum Worsens Ethnic Tension

PM0412120891 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 30 Nov 91 First Edition p 2

[Report from the TASS-RIA roundup under the general heading "In the States of the Former Union"]

[Text] Vilnius—The Lithuanian Supreme Council has adopted a statement on the preparation and holding of a referendum on citizenship. Its initiators are political forces opposed to granting Lithuanian Republic citizenship to Soviet citizens who were not resident in Lithuania before 15 June 1940. The document notes: "The statements made by the organizers of the referendum are straining the political situation and creating ethnic strife and instability in Lithuania."

Supreme Soviet

Yeltsin, Leaders Meet, Agree on Bank Issues

LD0312194691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1743 GMT 3 Dec 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow, 3 Dec (TASS)—A meeting between Boris Yeltsin and the leadership of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet took place today. This was reported by Vladimir Shumeyko, deputy chairman of the Russian parliament, at a meeting with people's deputies.

According to him, in the course of the meeting "they found a complete mutual understanding regarding all the issues discussed, even the bank problems." We found an optimal solution, he said, whereby the RSFSR central bank will remain subordinated to the Supreme Soviet, but at the same time, while carrying out operations, it must work with the government to ensure the implementation of economic reforms.

Vladimir Shumeyko asked deputies and journalists "to try no more to drive a wedge between the Russian president and the parliament."

Aleksandr Shokhin, deputy president of Russia, who spoke at the meeting, stated that since yesterday the Russian president has been working at the seat of the government in Staraya Square. His office will be situated there for a few months.

Discuss Changing Meeting Practices

LD0412195391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0500 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Text] It is probable that the working practices of the Russian Supreme Soviet will be altered in connection with the acceleration of processes to set up a reform base. This has been stated by Vladimir Shumeyko, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, in a conversation with journalists. According to Shumeyko, this was discussed on 3 December at a meeting RSFSR President Boris Yeltsin held with leaders of the republic's parliament. The joint sittings, which currently are held once or twice a week, will become daily occurrences. Shumeyko also reported that the question of the introduction of compulsory attendance [rezhima nevyyezda] for members of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet during December was discussed, in order to promptly adopt decisions on prepared legislative acts.

Parliament Deputy on Chechen-Ingush Situation

LD0412210191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Text] Sergey Filatov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, held a briefing at the White House today for journalists who write about parliamentary matters. In particular, he reported that Russia is very likely to continue the process of concluding agreements with republics, since to conclude a union treaty without the Ukraine is similar to concluding it without Russia. He said that decisions adopted by the congress and the Supreme Soviet on a transfer of USSR internal troops to the jurisdiction of Russia is not being fulfilled by the center.

The first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet paid much attention to the situation in the Chechen-Ingush Republic. In particular, he said:

[Begin Filatov recording] You know it is a very serious situation. On the one hand, the pressure of some preparation or, say, some provocation on the part of the Russian Federation is being created, on the other hand such tension and hysteria—I cannot call it otherwise—are being created inside. For example, I do not agree when there are threats. They are coming with every report we receive—you have already heard this and it was published in the press that we receive threats that at the slightest provocation they would blow up nuclear power stations and some other strategic facilities. That is why in this situation I would like our newspapers and our media to keep closer to the letter of the law. There is already opposition to Dudayev himself; that is, the situation is very serious, and this demands that we behave in a very consistent way in order not to whip up passions again. We must objectively understand what is going on there and the legality of everything that took place. [end recording]

This was the point of view of Sergey Filatov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, on the situation in the Chechen-Ingush republic. He said that a group of experts has flown to this republic.

He also informed journalists that an agreement with Latvia will be signed tomorrow. A delegation headed by Gorbunovs is arriving in Moscow for this.

Official on Government, Parliament Cooperation

LD0412054291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Text] Aleksey Golovkov, counsellor to the RSFSR secretary of state, one of the authors of the Russia's program of reforms, has optimistically evaluated the prospects for interaction between the government and the parliament of Russia. Addressing a news conference in Moscow today, he noted that there are no fundamental differences between them on the question of carrying through reform.

The counsellor to the secretary of state stressed that Russia is hoping that the unified ruble zone between the republics will be preserved. At the same time it is seriously examining the prospect of introducing its own currency. Preparations for monetary reform will take up to nine months, he said.

Government To Regulate Wages, Bank Accounts

OW0512024791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1520 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] State Counselor Sergey Shakhray has told the RSFSR Supreme Soviet's Council of Nationalities that the government intends to "regulate payments by written order without freezing wages or bank accounts." He explained that the Supreme Soviet would receive for scrutiny a set of appropriate documents Thursday [5 December].

Mr. Shakhray did not specify what the term "regulate" meant in the context. According to Leonid Gurevich, RSFSR People's Deputy and Secretary of the parliamentary commission supervising the legal correctness of presidential and government decrees, the Russian government means to hand out 30 percent of December's and January's wages in the form of deposits that would be available in cash no sooner than next March or April.

Federation Affairs

IZVESTIYA Views Rutskoy's Altay Speech

PM0412161191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Dec 91 Union Edition p 2

[Otto Latsis report: "Aleksandr Vladimirovich Gets Excited. This Thought Is Suggested by Altay Speech of RSFSR Vice President A. Rutskoy"]

[Excerpts] "I will resign if this continues," RSFSR Vice President A. Rutskoy said at a meeting with Altay people's deputies and kray leaders and entrepreneurs. It would have been possible not to elevate that emotional statement to the rank of policy, but there is much else in the Altay speeches, whose substance I judge from TASS information that undoubtedly requires comment.

After rating highly the ability of defense enterprises to produce output for civilian purposes, the vice president noted the need to do everything at republic level to preserve the defense industry's science and production collectives and the contractual ties between industrial enterprises and suppliers and to resolve questions of funding. Rutskoy pointed out, however, that one of the Russian president's decrees, which does away with liability for wrecking contractual deliveries, brings the work of industrial enterprises to the brink of disaster. Contracts have not been concluded for next year, state orders have not been formed, and enterprises are coming to a halt or sharply reducing production volumes. Siberians do not support such a policy.

What is still more important is that A. Rutskoy expressed a negative attitude toward the price liberalization, believing that it will inevitably lead to the complete impoverishment of most of the population and to a social explosion on an unpredictable scale. The present government, to use his words, consists of scholarly boys in pink pants, who are far removed from real life and will be unable to extricate us from the crisis. I will try once again, the vice president said, to have a word with Gorbachev and Yeltsin and to tell them about all I have seen here in Siberia.

What can one say about this? Regarding the color of the pants of members of Yeltsin's government—what I do not know, I do not know. If they really were lucky enough to acquire pink pants in our market free trade, I can only envy them: Such things have not come my way. As for "boys"—this is how it will seem to some people. As is known, one of the new vice premiers in charge of the economy is 35 years old, another is 40. You cannot help sympathizing with a society to which it seems that this is young. Have we really become so irretrievably accustomed to gerontocracy?

I can confirm that they are scholarly and pretty good scholars. Ye. Gaydar, for example, is a pupil of academician S. Shatalin and took his first steps in science under his command. Academician N. Petrakov was Ye. Gaydar's opponent when he defended his doctoral thesis. Academician A. Aganbegyan, rector of the National Economy Academy, invited Ye. Gaydar to take up his last post before being appointed to the government—as director of a newly created institute. Any of these three recommendations would be more than enough to confirm the economist's professional qualifications. His own knowledge and understanding of the subject that has now been entrusted to him are reflected in Ye. Gaydar's book "Economic Reforms and Hierarchic Structures," produced by the "Science" Publishing House last year.

True, Ye. Gaydar has no experience at all of work in the former apparatus structures, and his colleague A. Shokhin has very little: Shokhin was for a while economic adviser to E. Shevardnadze when the latter was USSR foreign minister. Maybe this is a merit rather than a shortcoming? Maybe we are already replete with the experience that former Premier V. Pavlov and people like him possess in abundance? [passage omitted]

The delay over normalizing economic life, which is on a historic scale, has exhausted the people's consciousness. The degree of sociopsychological dystrophy is such that no possibility of a disruption should be ruled out. At such a difficult time is it honest to hinder those who have finally set to work? If they have already managed to make some mistakes, they must be criticized—this too is a help—but they should be criticized for mistakes in their work, not for the very intention to begin work to embark on the market transition. To end delays and begin reforms in practice—this is the unambiguous mandate given by the Russians in the elections of President Yeltsin and Vice President Rutskoy. Is it permissible to deviate from it, clutching at the coattails of those who have gone ahead? I hope that the vice president got excited without looking into the matter. This happens to everyone, but it would be good if it did not happen too frequently.

Further on Rutskoy's Comments

PM0512095391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Dec 91 First Edition p 1

[Article by TASS observer L. Aleksandrova: "Mutiny on Russian Ship?"]

[Text] "Mutiny on Russian ship" or simply political turbulence forgivable for a former pilot? What was the demarche of Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy who, during his stay in Siberia, keenly criticized the economic policy of the Russian Government headed, as we know, by President Yeltsin?

I recall that the vice president spoke in Siberia of the prematureness of the liberalization of prices—a step whose initiation Boris Yeltsin's "economic team" had scheduled for mid-December. In Aleksandr Rutskoy's opinion before the start of the liberalization of prices it is essential "relatively to saturate the market, to alter taxation policy, and to create the prerequisites for competition." The vice president threatened to resign unless the president supports his position.

The first cloud on relations between the Russian president and vice president appeared in connection with the situation in Checheno-Ingushetia. Aleksandr Rutskoy was the main initiator in introducing a state of emergency there. This led to a drastic exacerbation of tension in the North Caucasus region.

To all appearances this time Aleksandr Rutskoy became rather heated. At any rate later in an interview with a TASS correspondent in Barnaul, admitting that "it has occurred to me to resign, particularly after the criticism leveled at me over the events in Checheno-Ingushetia," he added that he was "prepared to continue to work with the president and new government." Here the vice president confirmed that he "has differences with the president regarding liberalization of prices and several other questions."

It looks as though the party he founded—the People's Party of Free Russia—is not supporting him. Vasiliy Lipitskiy, chairman of the board of the People's Party of Free Russia, made it clear today to a TASS correspondent that the party leadership has not given Rutskoy the "OK" for this step.

The situation would seem to be clearing up. I want to hope that at this difficult hour for Russia the differences on tactical issues in the Russian leadership will not lead to a fatal crack.

Yeltsin on Protection During Economic Reforms

LD0412142291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Text] According to an INTERFAX report, Boris Yeltsin has noted that Russia began the economic reforms with the implementation on 1 December of measures to protect the people. These measures are preventive in nature and are being implemented before fundamental measures, of which the main one is freeing prices. During the most difficult period of reforms, the Russian Government will provide people with two-thirds of the minimum requirements of the consumer basket of goods and services.

So far, 20 documents on reform have been adopted. Another 15 will be approved by the government before mid-December. Yeltsin assures that entrepreneurs will be offered maximum independence. Russia also intends to strengthen insurance guarantees for Western investments as well as the capital investments of the country's entrepreneurs, Yeltsin stated.

Republican Premiers Ask for Reform Delay

OW0412153991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1315 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia's Vice-Premier Yegor Gaydar addressed a closed-door meeting of the Council of republican prime ministers in Moscow Tuesday [3 December] to describe the Russian Federation's program of economic reforms. The audience did not voice any major objections to the program but asked Russia's leaders to delay its implementation for the other republics to have the time to complete the necessary preparations.

Mr. Gaydar said in response that "we will be open to reasonable compromise, but Russia is interested in launching the reforms as soon as possible." The vice-premier indicated that it was a matter of weeks.

He said if a tough budget policy was adopted, the general price index next year should not exceed 500 percent.

Asked by IF [INTERFAX] whether there was enough cash to double the salaries of budget-financed organization employees as the RSFSR government had promised, Mr. Gaydar said that, from all indications, the answer would be "yes", although some restrictive measures might be needed. The latter, he said, would not include a freeze on citizens' bank accounts. According to the vice-premier, it might be necessary "for a couple of months" to restrict operations with cash and limit the cash payment of wages (offering at least part of these in deposits).

Mr. Gaydar said, by way of commenting on the Ukrainian Premier Vitold Fokin's statement that the Ukraine would not bear responsibility for the Soviet Union's external debt if it were represented on the newly established Intergovernmental Supervising Council only as an observer, that full-fledged membership in the Council might be offered only to those republics that had signed the memorandum on collective responsibility for the country's foreign debt. "One cannot expect to be given extra rights for nothing," Mr. Gaydar summed up.

Reform To Begin 16 Dec

OW0412163291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1520 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to IF's [INTERFAX's] sources, the RSFSR Vice-Premier Yegor Gaydar addressed a closed meeting of the Council of republican premiers Tuesday [3 December] announcing that Russia would launch its economic reform, including price liberalization, on December 16.

On Wednesday [4 December], Belorussian Premier Vyacheslav Kebich invited the Council to adopt a joint appeal to the Russian leadership to delay action on the pro-market reforms in the Russian Federation.

Mr. Gaydar earlier told journalists that Russia would be "open to compromise with the other republics over the deadline for the reform in the RSFSR."

Yeltsin Addresses Soviet-American Conference

LD0412151191 Moscow TASS in English 1434 GMT 4 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Petr Tsyrendorzhiev]

[Text] Moscow December 4 TASS—Russia will take less taxes from foreign business people if they invest their money in the production of consumer goods and conversion, Russian President Boris Yeltsin told the Soviet-American conference on trade and economic cooperation, which opened today in Moscow.

He said Western businesses will be allowed to invest their ruble profits in the Russian economy.

It is important that U.S. business circles invest their money in the Soviet economy, said Robert Strauss, U.S. ambassador to the USSR. Lynn Martin, the U.S. secretary of labour, said one should not be afraid of the Soviet market as its unique flexibility allows anyone to get used to the fast-changing situation.

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev sent a message of greetings to the participants of the meeting, which was initiated by the international fund for privatisation and foreign investments and by "Russian capital" shareholding society.

Gaydar Addresses Conference

OW0512022391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1520 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to Igor Gaydar, the RSFSR government will make the ruble "internally convertible in current operations at the market exchange rate" as of January 1, 1992. Mr. Gaydar made a statement to that effect in Moscow Wednesday [4 December] as he was addressing an international conference on trade and economic cooperation.

"We will abandon the policy of two exchange rates and 'flexible' hard-currency rate and introduce a fixed hard-currency rate for current operations as soon as we have set up a sufficiently large stabilization fund," Mr. Gaydar said. He added that Russia counted on Western assistance in establishing such a fund.

According to Gaydar, if the government succeeds in maintaining the exchange rate at 18-20 rubles for the dollar, it will be able to remain in control of the prices.

The vice-premier also said Russian enterprises would be required as of January 1 to no more than undergo registration to be able to engage in foreign economic activity.

Tuesday's [4 December] exchange rate at the USSR State Bank's Hard Currency Exchange dropped to 130.5 rubles for the dollar.

Zhirinovskiy Says Yeltsin's Policy To Fail

OW0512002091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1313 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Liberal Democratic Party [LDP] leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy believes Boris Yeltsin's policy is doomed to failure. "If I were him, I'd do everything vice versa," Mr. Zhirinovskiy told foreign journalists Tuesday [4 December]. He observed that Mr. Yeltsin's place among the world's politicians was "somewhere between Castro and Allende."

Describing the LDP program, Zhirinovskiy said his party saw it as its priority function to improve the country's economic performance. He placed himself next to Stolypin and DeGaulle, two statesmen who "left significant traces in the history of their countries."

His interview, circulated by the LDP press service, shows that Mr. Zhirinovskiy would have liked the USSR to remain Iraq's ally during the Gulf crisis and that he would never have left Cuba in the lurch. According to him, "I'm not interested in ideology and would urge the Arabs to pay their debts. We would receive Cuban sugar and have Russian officers rest at seaside resorts in Cuba."

Federal Security Agency Chief Interviewed

PM0412153991 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Dec 91 First Edition p 7

[Interview with Major General V.V. Ivanenko, general director of RSFSR Federal Security Agency, FSA, by correspondents Andrey Avrosimov and Andrey Zhdankin under "At Firsthand" rubric; place and date not given: "FSA: Not To Be Confused with KGB and FBI"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin recently signed the decree transforming the RSFSR KGB into the RSFSR Federal Security Agency, FSA. Major General Viktor Valentinovich Ivanenko has been appointed general director with RSFSR ministerial rank. Today he answers questions from ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA's correspondents.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] Various names, apart from the present one, had been suggested for the Russian special services—there was also the Federal Agency of Security [FAS]. Is there any fundamental difference between them, and why was FSA chosen?

[Ivanenko] According to the meaning with which it is invested, the FAS is considerably broader than the FSA because it embraces all kinds of security: ecological, informational, psychological, medical, and others. With that name we would have "driven" ourselves into a circle of considerably broader functions. Jurists suggested that FSA was more accurate. The point is that federal security means problems relating to state security. It also emphasizes the principle of our state's structure—federative. Consequently, we are talking of questions that concern state security at federation level.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] What has changed and will change in the FSA, compared with the KGB? What has gone from the structure, functions, and duties, and what has been added?

[Ivanenko] The main criticisms of the leadership of the Russian KGB by its staffers were that there was no concrete formulation of the tasks and, if there was, then clashes occurred: On what grounds is a particular task set?

The decree now defines the main areas of our activity, and a basis for fulfilling them has emerged. There has been a fundamental change in the position of the special services—a legal foundation has emerged for enhancing the organs' efficiency and combat ability.

The structure has been changed. We have abandoned totality in our work when it was necessary to control the whole of society. There remain just specific areas enshrined in the decree. These are: gathering and analyzing information on infringements of the republic's vitally important political and economic interests and on crisis situations in the world; analysis of the internal political and socioeconomic situation in the republic and of processes which might lead to an exacerbation of interethnic and interreligious conflicts; informing organs of state power and administration about the preconditions leading to emergencies entailing grave consequences; combating intelligence activity by foreign special services; countering attempts to exert influence from outside which help to exacerbate the situation in the republic; the exposure, prevention, and suppression of activities by international criminal communities and individual criminal elements from outside aimed at harming the Russian Federation's interests and infringing its citizens' rights; ensuring economic security in the functioning of state and nonstate proprietary [khozyayskiy] structures; organizing a system to protect state secrets; the exposure and suppression of unlawful activity aimed at fanning interethnic and interreligious conflicts; combating terrorism and other violent actions that encroach on the state system; exposing and combating corruption in organs of state power and administration and also in law-enforcement organs; combating organized crime, contraband, and illegal dealing in narcotics.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] Do you consider these the optimum?

[Ivanenko] I recently met with the president's representatives. They are demanding that the range of our functions be widened—they would like to receive information on a wider range of questions. Some insistently raise the question that FSA organs should assume the function of specially vetting officials being appointed to responsible posts in state structures in terms of their corruptibility and possible criminal past. This is not included in our duties, although the KGB used to do this. No one does this now.

We have made an attempt to simplify the structure and do away with duplication. This concerns counterintelligence above all. The USSR KGB had pure counterintelligence and counterintelligence in the spheres of transportation and the economy. We have now combined all this. There is also military counterintelligence, but this is a special case, and we have accommodated it in the structure because Russia needs to monitor the situation in the Armed Forces, particularly in the light of the problem of nuclear weapons.

Directorate "3"—for defense of the constitutional system—no longer exists. A counterterrorism directorate is being set up on the basis of some of its subdivisions: instead of total monitoring of the ideological situation in society—operational-investigative work on specific elements relating to the commission of crimes. These include public calls for the violent overthrow of the constitutional system, terrorism, sabotage, and violent forms of violations of racial ethnic equality of rights.

We wish to develop out of the new elements an information analysis directorate operating on new principles. The existing system for providing information is extremely weak and is inadequate to the demands and the present situation. The provision of information is fragmentary, whereas what is needed is a system for keeping constant track of particular problems and processes which, I emphasize, affect state security interests. The new system must be built on a high scientific and technical level, and this process must be computerized.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] Is it really inadequate even in your department?

[Ivanenko] The present state of affairs is still in the stone age. The unified system of information provision, which took many years to set up, has proved a dead end. It works like an information office and resolves purely official, local tasks, whereas it must function in a prognostic way and resolve logical tasks, as has long been done in developed countries—for example, the developments of the U.S. Arent Corporation. They are decades ahead.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] It would be interesting to know what kind of information is placed on the Russian president's desk. Does he order it, or is it on your initiative? If it is an order, who formulates it?

[Ivanenko] The order is formulated by Boris Nikolayevich's aides. For example, some visit or meeting is being prepared, and we receive a request from them and prepare information—plus, of course, our full initiative. If we see that a problem is serious and merits attention and resolution at the level of the president, we send him a summary.

I hope that Boris Nikolayevich will not take umbrage at us if I speak, for example, about the topics covered in information for the president during October: on militarized formations in a number of parts of the RSFSR, on a meeting with U.S. representatives, on the selling of confiscated video equipment, on the complication of the situation in the Dagestan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], on measures to intensify the struggle against organized crime in the Russian Federation, on the situation in the Chechen-Ingush SSR, on problems of conversion in defense sectors of industry, on the extraordinary situation concerning money circulation—I think this is sufficient to gain an idea.

We report to [First Deputy Premier of RSFSR Government] Burbulis not in parallel but on the questions of greatest interest to him. Also during October: on the situation over the Armenian-Azerbaijan conflict, on the development of the situation in Saratov Oblast in connection with the proposed restoration of German statehood, on the exacerbation of the situation over the problem of the Kuril Islands, on the unsatisfactory state of the railroads in Russia, etc.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] After you, does anybody correct the information?

[Ivanenko] Do you have in mind the "Boldin syndrome" [reference to former chief of CPSU Central Committee General Department, who was instrumental in manipulating Gorbachev's access to information prior to abortive August coup]? It is hard for me to judge.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] The sovereign republics which are setting up independent special services already have their own intelligence and counterintelligence. How are relations with them taking shape, and who works against whom?

[Ivanenko] Above all, we are making energetic efforts to organize cooperation and interaction with them. I hope that the political process will proceed in such a way that we will not be enemies and will not deem it necessary to use such a sharp weapon as the special services against each other in order to resolve the contradictions that arise.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] How is the scandal over an "exchange of nuclear strikes between Russia and the Ukraine" to be rated in this context?

[Ivanenko] It is some sort of provocation. I cannot call it anything else.

The problem of relations with the republics is very delicate, and a differentiated view must be taken of it. It is already clear today that the Baltic republics do not wish to cooperate. A realistic assessment must be made of the threat they might pose and of whether it is worth expending considerable intelligence and counterintelligence resources on repulsing it. The future will show.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] What if the republics start making territorial claims on Russia?

[Ivanenko] That is a direct threat to statehood. Of course, we must keep an eye on these aspirations and take appropriate measures.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] The KGB used to deal with the borders "from Moscow to the very marches." Do you now have no bearing on this problem?

[Ivanenko] A committee for the protection of the state border is now being set up. Its position and status are rather complex. It is a Union committee, but its first deputy will be responsible for the Russian borders.

The position with the Russian borders is very complex, particularly in the light of events in Checheno-Ingushetia. If the border of the Russian Federation's present territory is now to be drawn anew and be equipped at least to minimum standards, without the basic engineering structures (barbed wire, plowed strip), this will cost 16 billion rubles.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] Viktor Valentinovich, there is a certain illogicality and contradiction in the existence of [Central Intelligence Service Director] Primakov's Union intelligence and the similar service in Russia. The Union does not exist the way it used to be understood, and there are republic states which are trying to arrange relations among themselves, but Russia exists and will exist. On whose behalf is Primakov's service "spying"?

[Ivanenko] According to his statements, he must supply the Union president, the State Council, the Security Council, and the leadership of the sovereign states in accordance with their orders, but you were right to notice a contradiction: Armenia will order information of one kind, and Azerbaijan information of the opposite kind, and here, from my viewpoint, Primakov's position strikes me as dubious.

A considerable proportion of the information order will come from Russia. There will be no parallelism, as we have agreed that Primakov works abroad, and we operate from the territory—this is one of the principles of the division. This is another: For intelligence work we use Russian structures which are now actively going abroad into the external market. Primakov simply does not have the potential to create intelligence positions there.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] Does it turn out that Russia can independently perform all the functions of Primakov's service?

[Ivanenko] This will probably be so in time. It is easy, of course, to issue a decree and declare central intelligence Russian property, but what view will other republics take of this? In the present situation this is a time for compromise and for seeking concord, for attempting to preserve political union. The existence of intelligence in common is a stabilizing element.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] The activeness of Western special services against ours has increased considerably. Things are reaching the point where foreign resident agents visit the apartments of our best staffers, guarantee that their government will estimate services to our state at their true worth, and propose moving abroad.

[Ivanenko] Western special services have undoubtedly perceived and sensed correctly the state of anxiety, expectation, and uncertainty of many staffers of the former KGB regarding their future. The number of offers from foreign colleagues has increased, and it can regretfully be stated that there have been "successes" too.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] The KGB used to have a department "in charge" of the church. There have been rumors that it has been disbanded.

[Ivanenko] We do not intend to revive monitoring the situation in the Russian Orthodox Church. The department has been disbanded. We arrange contacts with church representatives only on questions of preventing the exportation of our cultural heritage from the country. A serious problem is posed by the fact that icons of the 14th and 15th centuries are being bought up cheaply, misappropriated, and transferred abroad. Here we need consultations with priests, expert assessments, etc.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] Will the wages of state security employees be increased?

[Ivanenko] In accordance with the RSFSR president's decree, wages will be increased by 90 percent as of 1 December, as for all people working in budget-financed organizations. An additional increase is also envisaged in accordance with the president's decree on urgent measures to combat crime. A person, working in a specific field such as state security, who sometimes risks his life must be highly paid and valued. Account must be taken both of the psychological loads and of the stress. Therefore we will put the wages issues to the leadership, although we realize that the budget's potential is limited right now.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] What is the extent of Russian state security today?

[Ivanenko] Just over 22,000 people—regional directorates—and 20,000 staffers in Moscow.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] And yet, Viktor Valentinovich, are there secret basements and a prison in the Lubyanka?

[Ivanenko] There has been nothing like this in the Lubyanka for a long time. The internal prison of the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs is now an office building—ordinary premises.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] How goes the process of the transfer to the Russian special services of premises and property belonging to the former central apparatus?

[Ivanenko] It is an uneven process. In my view, Vadim Viktorovich Bakatin is sincerely trying to help the Russian committee and has said so repeatedly, but when the order is sent down, the system starts to resist. Some people do not wish to change their usual image, and sabotage begins, but the process is nonetheless under way. To date we have had transferred to us such "controversial" structures as the external intelligence directorate [upravleniye naruzhnoy razvedki], the former 13th department, which we are transforming into the operational-technical directorate. We have been able to persuade both the Russian leadership and Bakatin that these structures must be transferred to us because only Russia is capable of giving them a legal basis—I mean the law on operational-investigative activity. Only Russia can ensure reliable control over the special services at both state and parliamentary level, along with prosecutor's office supervision, so that these structures do not violate citizens' rights and the law and do not commit unwarranted interference in citizens' private lives.

Yeltsin Decree on Security Agency Viewed

PM0412145791 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 3 Dec 91 p 1

[Article by RSFSR People's Deputy Vladimir Isakov under the "Parliamentary Diary" rubric: "Cheka-OGPU-MGB-KGB-FSA..."]

[Text] 30 Nov—The absence of an essential and long-awaited event—the presidential message on budget questions—could be considered the main event of the week. The legally prescribed deadline for adopting the budget expired 30 November. It is clear that approval of the RSFSR budget will be thwarted this year too.

In state activity, which is sometimes unpredictable and rocked by the vagaries of political passions, there are certain tasks akin to the age-old cycles followed by the farmer. Drawing up the state budget is one. Whatever happens—war, pestilence, or famine—the state budget must be drawn up. Otherwise normal life comes to a standstill and dangerous uncertainty arises, which then rapidly spreads downward, affecting the budgets of republics, krays, oblasts, rayons, and cities.

Last year the RSFSR budget was adopted with enormous and unacceptable delay—on 26 December. Stretching the point somewhat, this miscalculation was put down to the difficulties of the transitional period: There had been a change of power; there had not been time to get organized. Another year has now elapsed, and history is repeating itself virtually in the same way: There is the same failure in organizing harvesting work and again a dangerous delay in drawing up the budget.

I do not wish to offend anyone, but this reminds me of when I was a student. Our student detachment had a cook who could never get the meal prepared on time—it was overdone, underdone, or the truck was late. There were a lot of reasons given, but the result was always the same—the workers did not get fed on time. After a second "puncture," the hapless individual had to retrain as a waiter.

It is becoming something like a tradition that the most complex and contentious RSFSR presidential decrees either bypass parliament altogether or are raised only tangentially, without wide publicity or discussion. Decree No. 233 of 26 November 1991 "On the Transformation of the RSFSR KGB into the RSFSR Federal Security Agency [FSA]" undoubtedly belongs to this category. The decree itself did not provoke undue emotion—the committee has been renamed, okay. Yet another abbreviation which had evoked an entirely unequivocal reaction both at home and abroad was gone. The decree was followed by appendixes, separated from it by the modest barrier of an inscription reading "Not for publication," and these include the Provisional Statute on the RSFSR FSA. This is my subject.

Under this statute the FSA is subordinate to the Russian president and accountable to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. In their activity FSA organs are to be guided by the Russian Constitution, the decisions of the Congress of People's Deputies, the decrees and ordinances of the RSFSR president, the decisions of the Russian Government, and union laws (Russian laws and RSFSR Supreme Soviet resolutions unaccountably do not figure on this list).

The FSA's sphere of competence is defined in a wholly traditional way, including an area such as "analysis of the internal political and socioeconomic situation in the republic and processes which could lead to the emergence of organized structures bent on forcibly changing the RSFSR constitutional system." Who of us currently figures on the list of "organized structures bent on...?"

The final point of the statute vests the security organs with the right to carry out operational investigative and operational technical measures and warns that the relevant officials are responsible for ensuring the legality and validity of these actions. There is no mention of supervision by the prosecutor's office. Clearly the authors of the statute consider that a Grand Presidential Warning is quite enough to fully guarantee the observance of legality and the immutability of law and order in RSFSR state security organs.

But no—it is envisaged that the general director of the RSFSR FSA will be appointed and relieved of his duties by the RSFSR president **by agreement with the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.** That is the guarantee. What is surprising, however, is that in his next decree, dated the same day, the president appoints a general director without any consultation whatever.

Even a cursory survey of the decree and appended documents shows that a private [karmannyy] intelligence service removed from all control and subordinate to the individual will of the RSFSR president has been set up under the guise of the RSFSR FSA. Cheka [Extraordinary Commission for Struggle Against Counterrevolution], OGPU [United State Political Administration], MGB [Ministry of State Security], KGB—these letters stand out like blood on the memorial stone to the victims of repression which has found a gloomy resting place on Lubyanka Square. Is it perhaps time to draw lessons here?

The unpleasant taste left in the mouth after studying the presidential decree is somewhat relieved by the fact that the RSFSR Supreme Soviet adopted two documents last week which are fully in keeping with the objectives and the spirit of a rule-of-law state: These are the Declaration of the Rights and Freedoms of People and Citizens and the RSFSR law "On RSFSR Citizenship."

The declaration proclaims people's rights and freedoms and their honor and dignity to be the supreme value of society and the state. Its ideas are in keeping with international legal norms and should channel the development of Russian legislation in the direction of a higher standard of humanity and democracy.

The law "On RSFSR Citizenship," albeit not without certain shortcomings, is couched in a sensible centrist spirit. It lacks discriminatory elements—all citizens of the USSR who permanently reside on RSFSR territory will become citizens of the RSFSR unless they decline to do so within one year of the law's entry into force. Moreover, in view of the complex situation obtaining in ethnic relations, Russian citizenship by birth will also be received by persons living on the territory of other union republics who for some reason or other do not wish to adopt their citizenship provided that they were born in the RSFSR or their parents were citizens of the RSFSR. Russian citizenship will make it possible for the "Russian-speaking population" in Union republics not just to feel a link with their own ethnic homeland, but also to buy land and take part in the privatization program—in general, to enjoy all the rights and advantages of RSFSR citizens.

The law introduces several new categories—the possibility of dual citizenship for citizens of the RSFSR (given the appropriate RSFSR or USSR treaty) and also the concept of RSFSR honorary citizenship. The right of admission to RSFSR citizenship, the right to confer honorary citizenship, and a series of other powers are assigned to the RSFSR president. The possibility of depriving people of citizenship is precluded by the law.

At the final stage the law was enriched by a whole series of substantial amendments. One of them envisages that RSFSR citizens and persons lawfully present on the republic's territory cannot be extradited to another state except on the basis of law or international treaty. Another amendment establishes that the deprivation of RSFSR honorary citizenship and the right of political asylum are allowed only with the consent of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. These amendments enhance the level of legal protection of persons on RSFSR territory.

Procurator on CPSU Funds Documents Search

LD0412175991 Moscow TASS in English 1723 GMT 4 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow December 4 TASS—"The Russian procurator-general's office is not to blame for searches in the Russian Foreign Ministry," Russia's Procurator-General Valentin Stepankov told TASS today.

"Investigators obtained information that a Russian Foreign Ministry official, who had earlier worked in the international department of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, had access to documents relating to the party's financial activity and took those documents for personal use.

"As criminal proceedings have been instituted by us concerning the Communist Party's financial activity, the Russian procurator-general's office had every reason for meeting the man and questioning him. When summoned by the investigator, he confirmed he held documents of the Communist Party Central Committee and turned them over to the prosecution of his own free will. All this was registered in a statement in which no search is recorded."

According to Stepankov, some party accounts were arrested in the course of the investigation into the party's financial operations and efforts have been made to locate commercial banks and structures to which party money was channeled. The former structures of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, the Vnesheconombank, and the USSR depository of valuables are under inspection.

Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman on Relations

OW0512075391 Moscow Central Television First Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 2000 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Interview with Vladimir Petrovich Lukin, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, by announcer Sergey Lomakin in Moscow; from the "Utro" program—live]

[Text] [Lomakin] I am ready to introduce one more studio guest to the viewers of the Utro program, a fairly well-known politician, Valeriy Petrovich Lukin, chairman....

[Lukin, interrupting] Vladimir, if you please.

[Lomakin] Please forgive me, Vladimir Petrovich.

[Lukin] I am prepared to compromise on this issue.

[Lomakin] It is good that you are so obliging, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet. The question that I want to ask is not a chance question, seeing that the past week was marked by quite an important event for us—the visit to Germany, the first visit, by the first president of Russia. Of course, various media reported on the visit in their own way. The visit was not commented upon fully, and I think that a lot remains behind the scenes. What do you think are the basic results from this visit?

[Lukin] First, state visits presently are arranged in such a way that very little remains behind the scenes, but there are a few things, such as closed, private discussions, etc. I think that the fundamental results of the visit are primarily the psychological and protocol aspects. It is the first visit by the Russian president, the first official visit, and the first visit carried out at protocol level as an official visit, complete with anthems and everything else; it is a complete state protocol program in every sense, including the purely foreign sense. This is also interesting and is sentimentally inspiring when the Russian anthem is played and the complete state protocol is fulfilled. Of course this is not the main thing. I would say the main thing is that the Russian president was able to—and this is an unquestionable success—establish good personal contacts. In my opinion, a situation of compatibility has arisen, particularly with Chancellor Kohl, not only because both presidents—the president and the chancellor—are the same height, but in observing all this actively and professionally it appeared to me that a good atmosphere has developed. This was not only publicly obvious, but this could also be felt behind the scenes. This is important because such individual things often evolve into general things.

[Lomakin] I beg your pardon, did you want to add something?

[Lukin] I am beginning from the surface issues and progressing more to the internal....

[Lomakin, interrupting] I wanted to get more to the content.

[Lukin] As to the content, I repeat this is tied in with the content. Assurances were received that in the event of serious food problems this winter—as you know very well, there is a lot of talk about this, and a lot is said on TV—Germany will provide emergency aid; namely, it will provide urgent and flexible aid. This was quite definitely announced.

[Lomakin] Incidentally, we recently have been hearing quite often about various forms of aid from foreign states to the union, Russia, etc, but as far as I know, quite a number of state agreements have been signed with Russia, and before that Gorbachev signed quite a few German-Soviet agreements. How contiguous are these agreements, or are they contradictory?

[Lukin] I do not see any contradictions here. It was clearly announced that Russia is honoring and fulfilling all those agreements that the Union has concluded with Germany. First, the most important political agreements are those regarding the reunification of Germany, the form and scale of the reduction of armed forces, the withdrawal of troops, German guarantees concerning this withdrawal, the level of arms that we and Germany can have—all these agreements are respected by Russia, and they will be responsibly fulfilled. Those agreements that have been concluded are in addition to those the Soviet Union has concluded with Germany. The future of these agreements are being made specific, and in no way are they contradictory. This was clearly announced, and there was a feeling of complete understanding from the German side.

[Lomakin] Besides this, Vladimir Petrovich, the following issue interests me. It was announced that full autonomy would be granted to the Soviet Germans; as far as I know, Soviet Germans live not only in the Povolzhye Region but also in northern Kazakhstan. How will it be here—Russia and Kazakhstan? After all, the protocols were signed by Russia and Germany.

[Lukin] Of course, we did not concern ourselves with Kazakhstan's problems in any way, including this issue, but as you know, a sufficiently large number of Germans live on Russian territory, so Russia is naturally talking about these Germans, our countrymen, from Altay Kray and Omsk Oblast, not to mention the Povolzhye Region. These are the traditional places of German settlement from which they were displaced. The gist of this was that we reached agreement with them, in principle, that German autonomy, that a German state should be restored. This is right; this is what was done for others who were repressed in the Stalin era.

The Germans must not be excluded; that is the first thing. The second concerns how it should all be done. It should be done in such a way so as not to affect the people who have actually resided there for more than one generation, who have corresponding problems, etc. They have psychological difficulties in grasping this matter, and they particularly should not be disturbed. So, what is the solution? As you know, two autonomous areas are being created in their present regions of residence, in the Altay Oblast of Russia and in the Omsk Oblast. On the other side where the Germans have traditionally lived—not in the actual places where they were settled, but in the unpopulated places—an area of 6,000 square kilometers has been set aside. With the aid of German business, living conditions will be created. This will be the first center, and when that first center is actually functioning, then the issue of creating a state system will arise on a firm plane; until then nothing can be created from air.

[Lomakin] One more question Vladimir Petrovich, if you please. As far as I know, there are quite a few visits planned. Even in December, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin is preparing for two visits to other countries, is that correct?

[Lukin] As far as I know there is one combined visit to Hungary and Italy.

[Lomakin] But two countries?

[Lukin] Yes. Let us put it this way—two countries, one trip.

[Lomakin] Alright, we will leave it at that. As far as I am aware, Mikhail Gorbachev has traveled quite a lot to other countries, and many very important documents were signed; now I understand that Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin is starting a series of visits abroad. Besides acquiring the highest international image, what can Russia gain from such visits?

[Lukin] Well, as I have already told you, there are specific things in regards to Germany. For example, there have been some very specific understandings reached with Mercedes Benz in regard to futhering the development of our collaboration. There are also some very specific things with a number of provinces. So in this regard, the visit to let us say Hungary is interesting because Hungary at present has huge amounts of food, in particular meat, as a result of their reforms. There is an opportunity to channel this food to where it is needed at exactly the time it is needed. There is one example for you; no doubt there will be serious talks about this during the preparation and execution of the visit, but in principle, your question with elements of concern is understandable. I think there is no need to repeat this frequent aerodrome diplomacy. We have quite a lot of matters to deal with here, more than ever before, and I think that is why pressure is being exerted on Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin—and it is certainly being exerted—because he is the man on the spot [last five words in English], as they say. That means the man who is at center stage—and as one of the more popular leaders—is expected to travel all over. Resistance, I think, should be strong so as not to repeat past failures. Visits must be only to absolutely necessary places where it is in accordance with specific internal policy considerations. I and our committee advise precisely this, but of course you understand that these decicions are made collectively and on the basis of many recommendations.

[Lomakin] In any case, we will all hope that your recommendations and advice will nonetheless be accepted. Thank you very much for coming on the program. I welcome you, and hope that you will visit us again.

[Lukin] It is an honor and a pure pleasure for me.

[Lomakin] Thank you.

Interrepublic Affairs

Yeltsin Says Ukraine Independence 'Positive'

LD0412150391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1400 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Text] Russia respects the will expressed by the people of the Ukraine and believes that its independence is not an impediment but a positive factor for the development of relations between the former Union republics and especially between the brotherly Slav people of Russia, Ukraine, and Belorussia. Boris Yeltsin stated this on today in Moscow at the opening of an international conference on Soviet-American trade and economic cooperation.

Yeltsin said that conditions exist in the country for establishing political and economic stability. Direct business contacts between the sovereign republics, entrepreneurs, and firms are coming to the fore. Among the priorities in Russian-American trade and economic cooperation, Boris Yeltsin cited the agrarian sector, small-scale business, conversion, and ecology.

Union Without Ukraine 'Unthinkable'

OW0412190291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1745 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia's Vice-Premier Gennadiy Burbulis has declared that the Federation has particular responsibility for keeping up the process of talks in face of the former Union's disintegration. Speaking on Wednesday [4 December] before Russia's deputation to the USSR Supreme Soviet he supported the conception of the draft Union Treaty, but remarked that "its present shape is not quite convincing". He said Russia is for a Union, but not an artificial or forced one. It should be a real union with the main republics.

That requires certain tactics: more precise wording of the clauses, excluding such expressions as "confederative state"—which is, in fact, nonsense—and more definite interaction between Russia and Ukraine.

G. Burbulis stressed that a valid Union without Ukraine is next to unthinkable. He pointed out that Russia's actions are largely determined by the other republics' moves. "Russia's leadership, therefore, is doing all politically and economically to convince all the interested parties that a Union without Ukraine is no way out of the situation".

G. Burbulis emphasized that the Slavic axis should by all means be kept. "The forms in which this can be done are to be found in the near future", he urged. He mentioned in this line the coming visit by Russia's leadership to Byelarus [Belorussia].

G. Burbulis said a single economic space could be kept in two ways: through bilateral agreements between republics and through the activities of the inter-republican economic committee.

"Russia's leadership is for keeping both ways, but the committee is losing its practical effectiveness", he stressed.

On the functions of the USSR Supreme Soviet Burbulis said it should represent the interests of the republics and keep up a process of reaching agreements.

On the immediate measures for the economic reform G. Burbulis divulged the plans of humanitarian aid by Russia's government and re-distribution of food and other goods in the interests of the least protected groups.

He told the deputies a special committee was being set up to develop concrete programmes for various regions and defence industries. He insisted on daily pressure to be exerted on the military-industrial complex. The committee will hold its first meeting next Monday.

Russia's Vice-Premier called on the deputies to explain the situation to their voters to avoid possible disturbances, sabotage, or provocations following the liberalisation of prices coming in mid-December.

Cooperation With Ukraine Planned

LD0412204491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Text] The Presidium of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet confirmed the basic sectors of activity for the intergovernmental commission for cooperation between Russia and Ukraine.

Commission Cochairman Stanislav Smirnov said that the commission is to elaborate proposals on the time limits and consistency of the implementation of economic reforms. It is to determine the principles for the formation and development of a common economic space and cooperation in the sphere of customs policies. The commission will determine a list of facilities on the territories of Russia and the Ukraine that it would be expedient to consider joint facilities based on the specific nature and importance of such facilities for joint exploitation. Proposals will be prepared with regard to the division of gold stocks, the diamond and hard currency funds, the USSR's current debt to other states, and the debts of other countries to the Union.

A meeting of the intergovernmental commission is planned for the end of this month.

Deputy Urges Treaty With Ukraine

LD0412220391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Interview with RSFSR People's Deputy Sergay Shakhray by correspondent Yevgeniy Zherebenkov; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Shakhray] I would like to say that after the referendum and elections in Ukraine, a fundamentally new situation has arisen. The RSFSR president has expressed political recognition in principle of Ukraine's independence. A bilateral equal state treaty between Ukraine and Russia must be prepared and signed speedily. There is a basis for such a treaty, which is our treaty with Ukraine of 19 November last year, and the communique of 6 November this year. I think that this work can be carried out quite quickly. After signing such a treaty it will be submitted for ratification to the RSFSR Parliament.

The pattern of agreement with Ukraine may become the foundation of a confederation, which Russia will join together with Kazakhstan and other Central Asian republics. In this case, Russia will, in fact, play the role of a link between Ukraine and other sovereign states, former subjects of the Union. Therefore, the Russian Federation's role here is directly opposite—not to split the Union, but to gather it together, albeit from fragments, as a Union of sovereign states.

I would like to tell our esteemed listeners that now, in fact, only one instrument is left to preserve a Union, and this is radical economic reform in the Russian federation. Neither the army nor any other force, threats, or texts of different accords and agreements will lead to the Union's preservation now—only economic reform and common economic interests. I am confident that seeing these economic interests the republics will acknowledge that, yes, interrepublican coordinating bodies are needed; yes, some center's guiding and coordinating role is needed.

[Zherebenkov] Will such complex issues as the issue of the Black Sea Fleet and claims on the Crimea, Kharkov, and Odessa be included in the supposed treaty?

[Shakhray] I would not describe these issues as claims, let alone as Russia's claims to the Ukraine. Of course not. Numerous aspects of an agreement on a union between Ukraine and Russia will become the subject of the treaty, first the economy, a common economic expanse and free borders for movement of goods, money, and citizens. The issues of some kind of joint defense alliance may and will become, naturally, special themes of this treaty. Naturally, the issues of the armed forces, including the Black Sea Fleet, will be solved within the framework of this alliance. The issue of borders will be solved through special accords and agreements. A demarcation of borders should be carried out in a calm and civilized way. Here again one should not raise the issue of some territorial claims. The main thing here is to avoid ambitions, political threats, and territorial claims.

International Affairs

Yeltsin Reiterates Position on Islands Dispute

OW0312142291 Moscow Central Television First Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1030 GMT 3 Dec 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] President Yeltsin reiterated his position on resolving the territorial issue with Japan.

There are no talks in progress on handing over the islands, and there cannot be any. Since there is a problem, it will be resolved on the basis of and in keeping with international law, legality, and justice, in the interests of Russia and its citizens living in the Southern Kurils.

Vitaliy Gulis, the RSFSR president's representative on Sakhalin, announced this in a local radio broadcast today, referring to his personal talk with the RSFSR president.

More on Yeltsin Position

LD0412043291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0330 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Text] President Yeltsin has reinforced his position on the resolution of the territorial issue with Japan. There is and can be no question of ceding the islands, but since there is a problem, it will be resolved on the basis of observance of international law, legality, and justice in the interests of Russia and its citizens living on the southern Kurils, according to Vitaliy Guliy, representative of the Russian president in the Sakhalin Oblast, while speaking on local radio. He referred to a personal conversation with the Russian president.

USSR People's Deputy Guliy stressed that all the inflated suppositions on this account have no justification and do not correspond to the positions of Boris Yeltsin or the government led by him, but instead seek to discredit them. The actions of the bodies of authority of the Kurilskiy Rayon cannot fail to attract attention, Vitaliy Guliy noted. They have become much too engrossed in playing the defenders of the island of Iturup, at the same time shelving the resolution of urgent tasks to satisfy the needs of the islanders.

The representative of the Russian president asked Anatoliy Aksenov, chairman of the Sakhalin Oblast soviet, to come to grips with the situation which has come about on Iturup, and to give an assessment of those officials who are artificially charging the atmosphere, discrediting the course steered by the highest legislative and executive bodies of Russia.

Residents Prepare Appeal to UN

LD0412111491 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1000 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Text] Residents of Kunashir, one of the four islands which are subject of a territorial dispute between the USSR and Japan, have started collecting signatures to an appeal to the United Nations. The appeal speaks of rejecting both Soviet and Japanese jurisdiction and also contains a request to the United Nations to take the South Kuril islands into international trusteeship under UN auspices.

Foreign Ministry Aide Comments

PM0412172091 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No. 44, 5-11 Nov 91 p 24

[Interview with Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Georgiy Kunadze by Sergey Butin; place and date not given: "'I Am Not for the Transfer of the Islands, But'"]

[Text] New Times [N.T.]: Your trip to the southern Kurils has been described as the beginning of a propaganda campaign for the transfer of the islands to Japan. Do you really want to give the islands away?

Georgiy Kunadze [G.K.]: This is not the way this question is most happily asked. In my opinion, this vision of the mission is influenced by statesmen from a number of politicians who make no secret of their desire to use the objectively existing problem of territorial division with Japan to achieve their own political ends. The simplification of this issue to the level of personal intentions is best suited for such pragmatic purposes. As for the Foreign Ministry of Russia, we intend to start seriously seeking a solution to this old problem. In this effort we proceed from the stance confirmed in President Yeltsin's message. The message was conveyed by Ruslan Khasbulatov, Chairman of the Russian Parliament, to Prime Minister of Japan Mr Toshiki Kaifu. The message included the following points:

- sovereign Russia's relations with Japan will not be those of the victor and the defeated.

- in its approaches to Japan and bilateral problems, Russia is going to proceed from the principles of legality, justice and the commonly accepted norms of international law;

- Russia regards cooperation with Japan as an integral part of its policy aimed at becoming a full-fledged member of the Asian-Pacific community.

Naturally, the Khasbulatov visit centred on the problem of territorial division with Japan. The Yeltsin message made it clear that in our policy vis-a-vis this problem we would proceed from the five-stage gradual settlement plan proposed by Boris Yeltsin in January 1990. As the right-wing conservative opposition has been ousted from the political arena, the rate of the implementation of this plan can be accelerated. Some Soviet newspapers hastened to spread the version, according to which the Russian administration was allegedly prepared to sell the four islands to Japan immediately - some papers even went as far as to say that the islands would be transferred together with the people living on them.

We started receiving telegrams demanding that someone come to the islands and make the situation more clear. As a result, a delegation, including People's Deputies Oleg Kalugin, Sergey Sirotkin and myself headed for the Sakhalin Region.

There was a strong temptation to just tell the people that there was no reason for anxiety and that the situation would never change and to forget the whole matter. We decided against it and told people the truth: the problem was there and there were islands that would be a subject matter for negotiations with Japan.

N.T.: Were you expressing the viewpoint of the Russian administration or your own viewpoint?

G.K.: I was expressing the viewpoint which was prevailing in the Foreign Ministry of Russia and, in our opinion, it was the viewpoint shared by the government of Russia. Incidentally, this attitude was officially expressed by President Gorbachev during his visit to Japan last April.

N.T.: What was the reaction of the island's residents.

G.K.: Unfortunately, after so many years of indoctrination it was difficult for the people to accept and understand the things we were speaking about. Nonetheless, while all meetings started in a very excited manner, the excitement calmed down as we explained our views.

N.T.: What is your opinion about the actions of the Sakhalin administration? Today the position of Valentin Fedorov, Chairman of the Regional Soviet, is shared by many.

G.K.: In my opinion this position is that of an impasse and no one should be misled by it. It is not based on international law or on historical arguments, but rather on mere emotions. Worst of all, personal ends are behind it. I am sure that the government of Sakhalin is very well aware of the situation. As for me I'm not a politician. But the situation is different. This is a problem of international law and it must be solved accordingly.

N.T.: That is the stance of a diplomat. What is your personal position?

G.K.: My personal position—and it has grown stronger since I visited the islands—is that I do not think the islands should be transferred either to Japan or to any other country. The Kurils are a wonderful place with tremendous opportunities, but it is so neglected that one's heart aches to see it. The Kurils are an immensely rich and horribly poor place.

But unlike many other politicians, I do not think it is possible to ignore the historical and legal realities if we want to have a law-governed state. In the final analysis, only honesty and impartiality make people stronger and preserve their honour and dignity.

Khabarovsk To Provide 12 Su-27's to China

OW0312232091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2035 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The administration of the Khabarovsk region has requested the Russian Supreme Council to permit it to sell abroad part of the hardware produced in the region. Local authorities explain the request by the need for hard currency to carry out the conversion of military plants and to keep up living standards.

Viktor Ishayev, head of the Khabarovsk administration, told IF [INTERFAX] that an agreement had been reached to provide China with 12 Su-27 combat aircraft.

Kozyrev, UN Official Discuss Afghan Settlement

LD0412035491 Moscow TASS in English 1514 GMT 3 Dec 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Andrey Surzhanskiy]

[Text] Moscow December 3 TASS—Full mutual understanding about the need "to continue efforts towards a solution to the Afghan problem at both bilateral and multilateral levels" was expressed during a meeting between Russian Prime Minister Andrey Kozyrev and Benon Vahe Sevan, personal representative of the United Nations secretary-general on Afghanistan and Pakistan, here today.

Mr. Sevan is currently in the Soviet Union for consultations on the Afghan peace process.

Kozyrev and Sevan discussed in detail the U.N.-proposed plans to settle the problem, Deputy Foreign Minister Georgiy Kunadze told TASS at the close of the talks.

It is so far a question of moving on from confrontation to dialogue in which all parties concerned representing both the opposition and the Kabul authorities would participate, Kunadze said.

The Russian Federation emphasized that the recent talks in Moscow with Afghan opposition representatives were not contemplated as a certain alternative to the U.N. peace-making efforts, Kunadze said.

On the contrary, the purpose of the talks was "to give an additional impetus to the programmes being implemented by the United Nations," he pointed out.

Local Affairs

Ingush Man Killed on North Ossetian Border

LD0412191391 Moscow TASS in English 1600 GMT 4 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz December 4 TASS—An Ingush man was killed in an incident on the border between northern Ossetia and Checheno-Ingushetia last night, as a patrol APC [armored personnel carrier] of the Ossetian police came under automatic gun fire from unknown persons.

The APC's crew had return fire.

The tense situation on the border has been provoked by a decision of the recent Ingush referendum to create the Ingush Republic, involving lands that are now part of northern Ossetia.

The Northern Ossetian Supreme Soviet's Presidium described this decision as illegal and juridically invalid in its resolution of December 3.

Further on Incident

OW0412210691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2030 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In the village of Kurtat, Prigorod District of North Ossetia, populated mainly by Ingush people, now under emergency rule and curfew, unknown armed men attacked last night an armoured vehicle of the OMON [special purpose militia detachment] riot police. Fire from automatic weapons was exchanged for more than an hour. One of the attackers was killed. He was found to have been under strong alcoholic intoxication. Three men were detained, all possessing weapons.

According to the Commandant of the Prigorod District Victor Medveditskov the situation remains tense. On

Wednesday [4 December] he was talking with spokesmen of Ingush public movements led by Russia's People's Deputy Ibrahim Kostoyev. A preliminary agreement was reached to calm down the people and prevent bloodshed. On the same day some Ingush public figures visited Vladikavkaz and met the Ossetin leaders.

Situation Said Deteriorating

OW0412211191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2030 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Sergey Filatov finds that in the past few days the situation in Checheno-Ingushetia has markedly deteriorated. He has told journalists today, Wednesday, that a working group of the Supreme Soviet's experts arrived yesterday in Groznyy, but was not received by Dudayev or his aids. Filatov explains that Dudayev is prepared to meet only with the President of the Russian Federation. S. Filatov criticized mass media that "paint Dudayev as a hero and represent the situation as if Checheno-Ingushetia has split into two republics". In doing that the media, he said, "forgot the Constitution and other laws."

Russian Delegation Asked To Leave

LD0412224891 Moscow TASS in English 2222 GMT 4 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy December 4 TASS—It seems that Russian parliament experts, who arrived here on Tuesday [3 December] to prepare supposed negotiations with the Chechen Republic, will have to leave with nothing, President Dzhakhar Dudayev told TASS today.

Asked about prospects for such negotiations, Dudayev said there have been plenty of delegations in Groznyy, and they provoke nothing but allergy.

In a telephone conversation with the Russian president's adviser Galina Starovoitova, Dudayev discussed preliminary conditions of the negotiations. In particular, the Russian Government should cancel its latest resolution on the republic.

However, the Russian leadership then stopped contacts with the Chechen Republic and sent another delegation, Dudayev said. He asked the delegation to leave the republic as soon as possible.

This evening Dudayev spoke to officers of the Groznyy garrison. He warmly thanked his former colleagues for their "courageous patience under the pressure of various provocations".

Dudayev 'Losing Control'

LD0412202991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1940 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow, 4 Dec (TASS)—Chechen Presidnet Dzhakhar Dudayev "is losing control of the situation in the republic and is not in charge of the so-called 'National Guard,' among whom are deserters and escaped convicts. Some of the weapons captured by the fighters have fallen into the hands of criminals, who are making increasingly frequent use of them." This is said in a Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] press center statement circulated here today. It denies recent press reports about a stabilization of the crime situation in the Chechen-Ingush Republic.

The number of murders and plundering attacks on apartments and drivers involving firearms has risen sharply in Groznyy, the document points out.

The work of Checheno-Ingushetia's law-enforcement bodies is disorganized, the statement says. The militia in a number of areas within the republic openly refuses to support Dzhakhar Dudayev.

Yeltsin Appoints Representative for Moscow

LD0512120291 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1000 GMT 5 Dec 91

[Text] According to unverified data and from sources close to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, it has become known that Yeltsin will appoint or has already appointed Vladimir Kamchatov, RSFSR people's deputy, as the representative of the RSFSR president for Moscow and Moscow oblast.

It is true that Popov asked the president to accept his resignation, but as the representative of the president he does not have the right to be the head of the local administration at the same time. So for the time being he remains as mayor.

Berlin, Moscow Mayors Plan Cooperation

LD0412025491 Berlin ADN in German 1159 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—Berlin's governing Mayor Eberhard Diepgen and Moscow's chief Mayor Gavriil Popov intend to develop cooperation between the two capitals. The two politicians told the press after talks in Moscow today that cooperation will be extended in the areas of the exchange of experiences on a local political level, training, management education, and the development of administrative structures.

The city partnership between Berlin and Moscow was sealed in August this year by a treaty on friendship and cooperation. Diepgen and Popov agreed to open representative offices in each others' cities. These will encourage and coordinate information exchange and the establishment of economic contacts. Moscow, for example, wants to study Berlin's experiences in the privatization of trade and gastronomy. Diepgen said that the privatization of retail trade businesses in Berlin is almost complete. Popov said that privatization of Moscow business will proceed despite all the obstacles. He announced that over 3,000 applications had been made to authorities for the privatization of 6,000 retail trade businesses. Businesses for which there were no buyers will be sold at auctions. Foreigners will be allowed to bid for them.

The chairman of the capital Berlin registered organization, Knut Herbst, said at the news conference that his organization was organizing a four to six month training program for about 100 managers from Moscow to begin next spring. This management training is a purposeful and useful contribution to the economic revival of Russia. Berlin's involvement was also "a thank you for the opportunity which Soviet perestroyka gave us in the former GDR," stressed Herbst. "We were able to change our system; now we are returning the help."

Moscow Assembly Cancels Privatization Scheme

LD0412201991 Moscow TASS in English 2001 GMT 4 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Igor Belskiy]

[Text] Moscow December 4 TASS—The Moscow City Assembly (small council) today cancelled the mayor's instruction on the privatization of municipal shops, services and public catering.

The mayor, Gavriil Popov, will have to elaborate a new instruction fully corresponding to the current legislation.

It was suggested that Gavriil Popov submit to the assembly a privatization programme to include the allocation of a part of privatization proceeds to personal privatization accounts of city residents, and the solution of most acute social problems in Moscow.

People's deputies have also cancelled the instruction of the city administration on the free-of-charge privatization of housing.

Official Says Moscow Consumer Market 'Disaster'

LD0412193791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2105 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Interview with Vladimir Alekseyevich Karnaukhov, first deputy chairman of the Soviet Executive Committee of the Moscow City Soviet, by reporter L. Lashchenko, at the Moscow City Soviet on 3 December; from the "Television News Service" program—recorded]

[Text] Today at the session of the Moscow city government we learned the bitter truth: The capital's consumer market is close to disaster.

Instead of 1,500 tonnes of fresh whole milk, only 850 tonnes is reaching the city now. The dry milk we had is running out. The state supply system is in ruins. There is no Union-republican control for providing the city with produce. What is it that the Moscow government is deciding?

[Karnaukhov] It is necessary to draw up and submit proposals on a social assistance program.

[Lashchenko] Is it also necessary to provide public catering enterprises with produce at favorable prices? In December, should the parcels of food dispatched from Moscow be discontinued?

[Karnaukhov] The supply of wine and cognac for coupons is to be continued without releasing them for sale at free prices. At the same time, in December all trade organizations will be permitted large-scale purchasing of wine and vodka articles at contract prices to create certain reserves of these goods in the first 10 days of December. After 20 December, large-scale pre-new year trade is to be launched with these products.

[Lashchenko] Vodka production is greater here than is needed with coupons. Should not all these coupons be immediately honored, not stamped and piled on the counter, but be honored, as in times of war, when this coupon is handed over to a sales assistant? This has not been done.

[Karanaukhov] Proposals have been submitted for the creation of ration card offices and for the allocation of several million rubles for financing these offices. This is the only method of strengthening control and keeping an eye on the redemption of coupons. During the war, special ration card offices existed. Every person was registered with a specific shop.

[Lashchenko] Emergency measures were also proposed: to appeal to the government and to Presidents Gorbachev and Yeltsin to resolve the question of the city's provisions without delay and in a military fashion, and, what is more, to make available to the capital the necessary resources, including currency resources.

'Emergency Measures' Recommended

LD0412203691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1400 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Text] For the first time in many years, the consumer market in Moscow is on the threshold of disaster. A statement to this effect was made today by Vice Mayor Yuriy Luzhov at a meeting of the capital's government.

Up to the middle of November it was possible to maintain supplies of basic foodstuffs in the city at levels sufficient for survival. Now remaining reserves are dwindling very rapidly.

Luzhov stressed that in such a situation one has to put one's hopes exclusively in one's own strengths. He proposed making an appeal to the USSR and Russian Presidents Gorbachev and Yeltsin, saying that food supplies to the city should be tackled as an urgent matter and suggesting that emergency measures be taken. The vice mayor remarked that if Ukraine is unable to dispatch sugar for Moscow, then he is ready to sign agreements for supplies from Latin America.

In the same line, on the strength of continuing friendly relations, Vietnam has sent Moscow 500 tonnes of food aid.

Moscow Trade Unions Urge Freezing Prices

LD0512044391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1703 GMT 4 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Palariya]

[Text] Moscow, 4 Dec (TASS)—The deadline set in the declaration of the Moscow Federation of Trade Unions addresed to the president of Russia and the mayor and the government of Moscow has passed. In it, the capital's trade unions demanded that prices should be freezed until preventive social protection measures for Muscovites have been taken, the supply of primary food to the city residents ensured, and their material status improved, but the Moscow government did not react in any way to the ultimatum issued by the trade unions.

Today, the presidium of the Moscow Federation of Trade Unions met at the federation's headquarters. They adopted an appeal to Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Russian parliament chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov from the Moscow Federation of Trade Unions and the Moscow Convention of Entrepreneurs. The appeal emphasizes the urgent need for social protection of the population. An organizational committee for coordinating collective actions of members of the Moscow Federation of Trade Unions was established and a decision made to apply to the Russian Federation of Independent Trade Unions for support.

It appears that another period of opposition between trade unions and the government is starting.

Sobchak Says Only New Union To Prevent 'Chaos'

AU0412110491 Paris AFP in English 1039 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Text] Paris, Dec 4 (AFP)—The mayor of St. Petersburg, one of the leaders of Soviet reform, warned in an interview published here Wednesday [4 December] that only the creation of a new union among the former Soviet republics could prevent chaos. "The coup d'etat of 1991 failed because it was communist. But a military dictatorship whose stated aim is solely to restore order, might succeed," Anatoliy Sobchak told LE FIGARO daily.

Sobchak, who was in Paris to receive an award, notably stressed the threat of conflict between Russia and Ukraine, the latter having voted massively for independence on Sunday [1 December].

"If Ukraine refuses to rally to a new political pact, Russia will quickly put forth territorial claims," he said. But if Ukraine "agrees to be part of a new confederal type union and an economic community, we will not touch any borders," he said.

Otherwise "a conflict cannot be ruled out" and "the prospects are particularly threatening given the nuclear arms that are in the possession of the two republics," according to Sobchak.

He also said the threat of "forced Ukrainization" was hanging over the Russian minority in the Ukraine, creating a "very worrying" situation.

Given these factors, the inability to create some sort of new union will be "deadly for the republics and very negative for the international community," raising the possibility of a new military putsch in Moscow.

Finland To Assist St Petersburg Nuclear Plant

LD0512021591 Moscow TASS in English 1304 GMT 4 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Dodonov]

[Text] Helsinki December 4 TASS—Finnish specialists have started work on the upgrading of a nuclear power plant near St. Petersburg, the Finnish Telegraph Bureau reported on Tuesday [3 December].

Research centres of Sweden, Germany, Italy, France and Britain are also involved in the project to improve the safety and design of the reactor used at the plant. Finnish specialists will analyse fire safety at the station and will plan and, possibly, perform the necessary operations to enhance its fire safety.

'Problems Prevail' in Perm Defense Conversion

PM0412145391 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1630 GMT 1 Dec 91

[Report by M. Klepov from Perm; from the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The process of military production conversion is progressing with difficulty and is subject to great distortions, as reports by our correspondents from various parts of the country illustrate. Although certain successes have been achieved in this sphere, problems prevail, as you will be able to see in this report from Perm.

[Klepov] Production of consumer goods at the Perm Instrument Making Association has risen sharply thanks to a considerable reduction in military output. The production of stereo tape recorders has doubled, the quality of music equipment has improved, and designs are more attractive. All this has been achieved as a result of additional premises becoming available and the arrival of highly skilled workers from the defense industry.

A new production unit for the assembly of electric drills will be inaugurated in just a few days, and the association has opened a center for servicing and repairs of tape recorders and electric drills. Conversion, however, could be producing better results.

[A.A. Gershanek, shop manager] We have been producing and continue to produce navigation systems for military aircraft.

[Klepov] Are these systems also suitable for civilian aircraft?

[Gershanek] With a certain amount of modification, our military output is being adapted for civilian aircraft. That is to say, from next year we will already be producing a number of systems, but all this is happening much more slowly than we would like. During the past year alone, as a result of this conversion, our association has lost about 1,200 people. In order to retain cadres, all this must be put into practice more quickly. After all, people need to earn wages.

Commission on Sakhalin Oil Tenders Established

OW0512044491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2030 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia's government has decided to set up a commission on the results of tender being held in Sakhalin of a right to develop oil and gas deposits on the island's sea shelf, as INTERFAX has been informed by Sakhalin's Vice-Governor Victor Sirenko. Neither members nor chairman have yet been appointed to the commission.

The results of the tender which has attracted the world's leading oil companies were to have been taken in early October 1991, which was postponed due to the opposition of the Sakhalin authorities. Next, Russia's government suspended the tender pending the formation of a special official commission including Sakhalin's spokesmen.

According to V. Sirenko, competitors for the tender "are worried over the delay".

Claims for the tender have come from Shell, Amoco, Idemitsu, Exxon, and others.

Smolensk Deputies Clash With Local Administrator

PM0412145491 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Dec 91 p 2

[Correspondent V. Artemenko report: "Deputies Versus Governor"]

[Text] Smolensk—The extraordinary session of Smolensk Oblast Soviet was held in two stages. At the first sitting V. Fateyev, oblast head of administration, disconcerted the parliamentarians by proposing resolute measures to stabilize the socioeconomic situation in the region.

For instance, the governor was intending to introduce licensing for goods transported out of the oblast and also for entrepreneurial activity in the trade sphere. He proposed that enterprises producing goods in short supply should, every month, contribute 70 percent of their monthly volume of commodity output to the trade department's barter stocks and that the said stocks be used for buying food from outside the oblast. He promised a temporary ban on speculative travel for the purpose of buying goods and large fines for economic violations.

The session, despite the ever deteriorating situation, decided to postpone examining the stabilization measures for another week. At the same time the deputies were unable to propose alternative constructive stabilization measures. The head of administration vetoed the session's decision, and he stated that without waiting for the soviet's decision he would issue a series of resolutions aimed at stabilizing the oblast's economy.

V. Fateyev kept his promise. A day after the session's first sitting he issued seven resolutions aimed at stabilizing the socioeconomic situation and conducting radical economic reforms.

At the second sitting the oblast soviet deputies discussed in detail the economic and social consequences of the stabilization measures proposed by the head of administration. In the course of the debate both supporters of the governor's measures and opponents emerged. A vote was necessary. As a result the decision was adopted: The resolutions of the local head of administration "On Priority Measures for the Social Protection of the Oblast's Population," "On Stopping Economic Infringements," and "On Temporary Measures To Stabilize the Consumer Market" should be repealed, as being at variance with the laws of the RSFSR and decrees of the RSFSR president.

I can say unequivocally that confrontation will hamper the quest for urgent measures to stabilize the economic situation in the oblast. I have talked with many people in Smolensk: They condemn the deputies' opposition to the governor and expect efficient, flexible work from them.

Belorussia

Prime Minister Views Yeltsin's 6 Dec Visit

LD0512121891 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1000 GMT 5 Dec 91

["New Wave" feature]

[Text] Vyacheslav Kebich, prime minister of Belarus [Belorussia], has stated that all fears that our enterprises might come to a stop because of a lack of raw materials are groundless.

Commenting on the upcoming visit of Boris Yeltsin to Minsk, which is to take place on 6 December, he also said: We believe that we will be able to persuade the Russian side to accept a proportion of the expenditures connected with the elimination of the consequences of the Chernobyl disaster.

Moldova

Dnestr Republic Claims Soviet Army Property

OW0512024991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1520 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Dnestr Moldovan Republic has set up a republican Defense and Security Department with Lt.-Gen. Gennadiy Yakovlev, commander of the 14th army based in Tiraspol, at its head. Before December 15 the general is expected to coordinate with the USSR Defense Ministry the order and terms of transferring under the Dnestr republic's control the weapon systems, materiel, housing and other military property on the republic's territory.

Parliament Chief Opposes Reunification

LD0512123191 Kishinev Radio Kishinev Network in Russian 0700 GMT 5 Dec 91

[Text] Late last night we received an appeal from Aleksandr Moshanu, chairman of the republic's parliament. Here is the text:

Esteemed compatriots, having familiarized myself with the information given at the rally held on 1 December by the 16 December National Alliance on the decision by a number of deputies of the parliament of the Republic of Moldova, jointly with certain Romania parliamentarians, to create a National Reunification Council I declare:

I recognize and respect the legitimate rights of citizens, including deputies, to free association and political choice, but in conditions of a law-based state, which we intend to build, questions concerning our national future are exclusively under the jurisdiction of parliament. Parliament as a whole, and every deputy individually, are called upon to act in accordance with the republic's legislation for the sake of consolidation and confirmation of the independence of the Republic of Moldova.

Considering the internal and external position of our state, I appeal to our legislative body, to the government, to all parties and public organizations, and also to all citizens of the republic for joint cooperation in order to avoid national schism. I am in favor of freedom of choice, but at the same time I emphasize that calls to boycott the presidential elections set for 8 December are dangerous and tantamount to nonobservance of existing legislation.

Considering the fact that the Constitution of the Republic of Moldova provides for presidential rule, I regard discussion of this question as useless. I appeal to all citizens of the Republic of Moldova, to parties and public and political movements, to members and supporters of the People's Front to participate in the presidential elections, to vote for Mircea Snegur, and move forward together in implementing our independence.

[Signed] Aleksandr Moshanu

Snegur Favored in Poll on Election

LD0512022691 Moscow TASS in English 1316 GMT 4 Dec 91

[By correspondent Fedor Angeliy]

[Text] Kishinev December 4 TASS— Mircea Snegur, the only candidate in the oncoming Moldovan presidential election, enjoyed 62 per cent popularity among voters polled by the Moldovan National Sociological Institute. Respondents said they trust Snegur.

More than 50 per cent of those eligible to vote will come to the polls to elect the republican president on December 8, the institute said.

Residents of the Moldovan Dnestr and Gagauz regions, who elected their presidents last Sunday [1 December], will not participate in the election. The Moldovan leadership declared last week's elections there null and void.

Officials Discuss Election Issues

LD0312094791 Kishinev Radio Kishinev Network in Russian 0700 GMT 28 Nov 91

[Excerpts] A discussion of topical problems in organizing the holding of the first nationwide election of the president of Moldova was the subject of a republican conference yesterday of leaders of ministries and departments and also local authorities. The conference was chaired by Aleksandr Moshanu, chairman of the parliament of the Republic of Moldova. [passage omitted]

One of the basic problems which not only the Central Electoral Commission but also the leadership of the republic has had to come up against is the refusal of a number of local leaders to set up polling stations in territories controlled by them. Thus to date there have been 1,959 polling stations set up in Moldova, which is 394 less than in the previous elections of the republic's people's deputies. In the Dnestr area there have been only 43 stations set up out of the over 300 planned, while in the south of the republic it is basically only in population centers where the majority of the population are Moldovans and Bulgarians. This is the reason for the decision of the parliaments Presidium to allow voters wishing to take part in the voting to use their voting right not only in their place of residence but in any other area of the republic on presentation of their passport. [passage omitted]

Popular Front Official on Dnestr Elections

OW0512045291 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1745 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Dnestr region is no longer part of Moldova, and we have to be reconciled to the fact," said Ilie Ilasko, chairman of the Tiraspol chapter of the Moldova Popular Front, following the election of the president of the Dnestr Republic.

He told the press that the Popular Front knows of facts of coercion of citizens to vote and of human rights violations on the left bank of the Dnestr. But, said Mr. Ilasko, the election of the republican president is a fait accompli, and we must realize that we have lost all influence in the Dnestr area.

According to the leader of the Tiraspol chapter of the Popular Front, Moldova's parliament should not take any further measures to keep the area part of Moldova because of a possible new wave of ethnic conflicts. He also emphasized that the Moldovan parliament should pass a refugee law because the number of refugees from the area is likely to rise.

Official Meets With IMF Representative

LD0412144591 Kishinev Radio Kishinev Network
in Russian 0700 GMT 28 Nov 91

[Text] Ion Chebuk, first deputy prime minister and permanent representative of the Moldovan Government in Moscow, met on 27 November with (Barbara Kaminska), a representative of the International Monetary Fund. (Barbara Kaminska) confirmed that the IMF can now establish direct ties with the former Union republics, reports a special correspondent from MOLDOVA-PRESS. An agreement was reached for a visit in December to the Republic of Moldova of a six-man IMF delegation headed by Mr. (Flecken Schilders). The delegation intends to meet with the president of the National Bank; the ministers of finance, national economy, and foreign affairs; and with the general director of the State Statistics Department.

In answer to a question from Ion Chebuk about the possibility of IMF help to the Republic of Moldova, (Kaminska) replied that help may be given only to members of the fund, and so far Moldova is not a member. But despite that, the republic can count on IMF help in the form of consultations on certain questions, and also in the area of staff training in Vienna, Washington, and other cities. Expenses connected with staff training are borne by the IMF, noted Ms. (Kaminska). Ion Chebuk thanked the IMF representative and assured her that the delegation will be warmly welcomed in Moldova.

Ukraine

Commission Issues Final Election Results

LD0512112991 Kiev Radio Kiev in English
0100 GMT 5 Dec 91

[Text] The proclamation of the statehood of an independent Ukraine was documentally confirmed today [4 December] by the Central Electoral Commission at its concluding sitting in Kiev. 31,891,742 citizens or 84.18 percent of the total number of the voters on the list took part in voting; 90.32 percent from this number gave a positive answer to the question of the bulletin.

It should be noted that more than three-quarters of all citizens who had the right to take part in the referendum came out for the independence of Ukraine.

As far as the results of the elections of Ukraine's president are concerned, the victory was won by Leonid Kravchuk who was supported by more than one-half of the votes, that is 61.59 percent of the voters. The second place was scored by Vyacheslav Chornovil, who received 23.29 percent of votes.

Member of the Central Electoral Commission (Volodymyr Rimha) from Dnepropetrovsk region spoke at the sitting. He said in part there was not a single serious remark on the part of the observers as to violations or any other deviations from the electoral law.

Kravchuk Speaks With Bush, Gorbachev

LD0412182491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 1600 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Text] We have just received a report from our Ukraine correspondent Vitaliy Dolgich that Leonid Kravchuk, president of the Ukraine, spoke on the telephone with the presidents of the United States and the USSR.

[Dolgich] The presidents of the United States and the Ukraine agreed to fully discuss the problem of recognizing the Kiev state during the visit of the Whie House emissary and Secretary of State Baker. Meanwhile, Zbigniew Brzezinski declared: As a Ukrainian of Polish origin, I hope that the United States will be among the first countries to recognize the Ukraine.

Let me also point out that in the telephone conversation with Gorbachev, Ukrainian President Kravchuk protested at Gorbachev's plans to take measures against Kiev. Taking measures is a quote from one of Gorbachev's speeches. Gorbachev had to reassure Kravchuk that no such thing will take place.

Meanwhile, the presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet approved a declaration in connection with the provocation of 1 December. Unidentified individuals placed explosives in a synagogue, and it was only through good luck that no tragedy occured. The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet called on the Ukrainian people to be vigilant and to respect public order.

Kravchuk on Expected Talks With Baker

LD0512121391 Kiev Radio Kiev in English
0100 GMT 5 Dec 91

[Text] The U.S. Secretary of State James Baker is expected to visit the Ukraine at the end of December. During a telephone conversation with the U.S. President George Bush on this visit, Leonid Kravchuk, Ukraine's president, said the following:

[Kravchuk in vernacular fading into English] We shall be able to discuss those problems which are of interest both to the United States and Ukraine, says Leonid Kravchuk. We shall examine and remove problems which exist today; that is the problems pertaining to disarmament, ethnic minorities, and human rights. We'll discuss all these issues and determine the guiding principles of world cooperation, said Ukraine's President Leonid Kravchuk.

U.S. Press Secretary Cited on Recognition

PM0412141391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
4 Dec 91 Union Edition p 2

[Correspondent A. Blinov report: "United States Welcomes Results of Referendum but Recognition of Independence 'Will Take Time'"]

[Text] Washington—Official Washington was one of the first to react to the results of the referendum on Ukrainian independence. The positive assessment of the expression of the Ukrainian people's will is combined with a desire for further clarification on a number of questions. It is this which will open the way to the diplomatic recognition of the Ukraine as an independent state.

"Yesterday, by a free and honest vote, the Ukrainian people chose independence," U.S. Presidential Press Secretary M. Fitzwater stated at a White House news conference. "The United States welcomes this manifestation of democracy, which reflects the spirit of the Ukrainian people."

In the presidential press secretary's words, the United States "wants to express its support for the positive changes" and is "counting on the establishment of normal relations with the Ukraine, as should happen with a country that is being democratized."

However, as M. Fitzwater remarked, "it will take some time before we are ready to make a final decision on recognition." Explaining the reasons for this approach by the U.S. Administration, M. Fitzwater said that the United States "is still concerned about many questions, including the fate of the nuclear weapons on the republic's territory." In addition, the proclamation of the Ukraine's independence "has raised a number of complex problems which can be resolved only between the Ukraine, Russia, and the center."

For its part, the United States, M. Fitzwater stated, is counting on the establishment of relations between the Ukraine and Russia, "relations of cooperation based on openness and mutual respect."

These and other questions (including the respect of human and minorities' rights and the observance of international agreements on the rights of the individual) are going to be discussed with the Ukrainian leadership by Thomas Niles, U.S. assistant secretary of state. He is flying out to Kiev at the end of the week as special envoy of the U.S. President. Then U.S. Secretary of State Baker will be visiting Moscow and Kiev at the end of December. The President's press secretary stressed the main aim of these visits and talks: The United States "is moving toward the full diplomatic recognition" of the Ukraine.

Georgian Official Supports Independence

LD0512133791 Kiev Radio Kiev in English
0100 GMT 5 Dec 91

[Text] A delegation from Georgia headed by the press secretary of the president of Georgia, Georgiy Burdzhanadze, has arrived in Kiev. He presented Leonid Kravchuk, the president of independent Ukraine, a congratulatory message from Georgian President Gamsakhurdia as well as inform [as heard] him on the arrival in Kiev in the near future of a parliamentary delegation from Georgia for establishing close ties and mutually advantageous cooperation between our two states which have a common history. Says [correspondent] Georgiy Burdzhanadze:

Both the leadership of Georgia and its people are attaching great significance to the events taking place in Ukraine, Georgiy Burdzhanadze is saying. Ukraine and Georgia have chosen one path, the path of building a democratic society and attainment of national independence. My mission is to spotlight in the Georgian press these events and congratulate the leadership of Ukraine. It should be pointed out that in this referendum the majority of the population expressed its will and this is an indication that the Ukrainian people aspire to attain freedom and independence.

As for the elections of the first president, we are delighted that this process took place in a democratic way, in condition of the free will of the people. We support the stand of Ukraine which was expressed bravely without hesitation. The official statement of Ukraine's leadership, in particular the statement by President Leonid Kravchuk on unwillingness to enter the composition of the Union around Russia, instills hope in the fact that relations between Georgia and Ukraine have broad prospectives for cooperation between the two independent states, said Georgiy Burdzhanadze.

Foreign Minister Zlenko Outlines Policies

LD0412232191 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Excerpts] Yesterday the press center of Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs became, one can say, the center of international life of our state, Ukraine. Our correspondent Oleksandr Zednik reports:

[Zednik] [passage omitted] The topic was the foreign policy principles of sovereign Ukraine. Anatoliy Maksymovych Zlenko, Ukraine's minister of foreign affairs, addressed representatives of the world's mass media:

[Begin Zlenko recording] It gives me great pleasure to note that we are turning into a new state by peaceful means. In this way a new independent Ukrainian state is being reborn. The Ukraine acknowledges its international obligations and in accordance with the law of 12 September this year on lawful succession is the lawful heir as regards the treaties of the former USSR which do not conflict with its constitution.

On the matter of debts: In a statement on 23 October the Supreme Soviet confirmed our readiness to pay off our part of the foreign debt of the former USSR and at the same time to receive an appropriate part of USSR assets. The Ukraine will itself form its own armed forces and a republican guard. This will also be qualified by guarantees of collective security.

The Ukraine, taking into account all factors of national security, will implement its intention to become a nuclear-free state in the future, which will not join military blocs and will adhere to three non-nuclear principles. The Ukraine, as a European state, has repeatedly expressed and repeats its intention to be a full-blooded participant in the all-European process.

The question of national minorities is a priority concern for us. The Ukraine has fortunately avoided any kind of conflicts or discord arising from this issue, even in the complicated pre-election period.

The Ukraine has repeatedly asserted and asserts once again that its territory is indivisible and inviolate. It respects the inviolability of existing borders and does not have territorial claims on any state. [end recording]

Zlenko: Russian Ties 'Note Very Far Away'

LD0412232991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2145 GMT 4 Dec 91

["Television News Service" feature]

[Text] Anatoliy Zlenko, the Ukrainian minister of foreign affairs, today said that Russia's recognition of the Ukraine as an independent state was a logical continuation of their relations. The time when Russia and the Ukraine would establish diplomatic relations at the embassy level was not very far away.

Israeli Chief Sends Congratulations to Kravchuk

LD0412203891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1015 GMT 4 Dec 91

[By correspondent Aleksandr Zhudro]

[Text] Tel Aviv, 4 Dec (TASS)—Israeli President Hayim Herzog has sent Leonid Kravchuk a telegram of congratulations on the occasion of his election to the post of president of the Ukraine, the Israeli press reports today. In his message the Israeli head of state wished the Ukrainian people "success and prosperity."

An official representative of the Israeli Foreign Ministry said his country is reckoning to establish "good relations and all-round cooperation" with the Ukraine. He said Israel is planning to open a consulate general in Kiev, which could be turned into an embassy at the "appropriate moment."

German Envoy to Kiev To Learn 'Intentions'

LD0412052591 Moscow TASS in English 1258 GMT 3 Dec 91

[By correspondent Lev Volnukhin]

[Text] Bonn December 3 TASS—German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher decided to send a special envoy to Kiev and Alma-Ata to receive information about the situation in the Ukraine and Kazakhstan.

The press service of the German Foreign Ministry reported today Wilhelm Heink was appointed special envoy. He will fly to Kiev tomorrow. The main purpose of his stay in the Ukrainian capital will be to receive information about the intentions of leaders of the republic and their attitude to problems reflected in the statement of members of the European Community adopted on Monday [2 December] in Brussels in connection with the referendum in the Ukraine.

Representative Meets Polish Foreign Minister

LD0112110491 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 1 Dec 91

[Text] The press center of the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has reported that Skubiszewski, the

Polish minister of foreign affairs, has received (Starak), the special envoy of the Ukraine's Government.

After presenting a letter of recommendation, our representative gave an account of the Ukrainian party's official position as regards good-neighborly relations and mutually beneficial cooperation between the Ukraine and Poland. The minister greeted the representative of the government of the sovereign Ukraine in Poland and expressed satisfaction that the points of view of Polish and Ukrainian parties on bilateral relations are very close, which is also indicated by the close cooperation between Ukrainian and Polish delegations at the UN.

Western Reaction to Republic Changes Viewed

LD0412233591 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1430 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Vladimir Pasko commentary]

[Excerpts] The Ukraine's declaration of independence is a central foreign political topic for the Western mass media today. A summation of this topic has been prepared by Vladimir Pasko. In his view, the reaction to the declaration of independence is restrained. I repeat that this is the view of the commentator. Statements by the White House, the European Community, Japan, and other countries express basic satisfaction only with the democratic manner in which citizens have expressed their will, writes Vladimir Pasko. However, the documents contain appeals to the Ukrainian leadership to take measures to observe the USSR's international obligations. [passage omitted]

Even today there are people here who believe, Vladimir Pasko writes, that the West is asleep, dreaming of our country in ruins. The reaction to the results of the Ukrainian referendum demonstrate the opposite, believes the commentator. What is the reason for this reaction, he is asked. Let's hand over to Vladimir Pasko himself:

[Begin Pasko recording] The West is extremely anxious about the decentralization of our country. The main thing worrying the West is the future of the international obligations of the former Union. The United States, for example, believes that it is fundamentally important to discuss the situation in three areas with the new Ukrainian leadership: respect for human rights, including equality for ethnic minorities; guaranteeing a responsible policy in the area of security; and an economic policy aimed at easing the transition to free markets and free and fair trade, including, as a White House representative noted, trade with the republics of the former Union.

The most recent statements by Ukrainian leaders make all these matters particularly topical. On the eve of the referendum, in an interview for the Austrian paper PRESSE, Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Chairman Kravchuk stated that the republic will begin working out an independent policy across the board. The question is: What is that policy to be? Certain areas have already been mentioned, namely the issue into circulation of its own currency and the creation of its own armed forces, both of which will result in further disintegration and chaos. In the same interview Kravchuk called the Ukraine a nuclear power, thus reinforcing the suspicions of those who believe that the Ukrainian leadership has pretensions to more than participation in talks on nuclear weapons. How are these words to be contrasted with Kravchuk's statement that the Ukraine does not wish to participate in any political union of the former USSR that aims to preserve the structure of the central government? The Ukrainian leaders permit the preservation of the Union as a confederative union. They reduce the role of the center to one of coordination and no more. The danger of such a development is obvious. It casts doubt on the whole system of security that has evolved in Europe.

In all its statements the West voices support for the USSR president's policy of preserving the Union. Gorbachev himself draws a clear line between the concepts of independence and separatism. If someone wishes to interpret independence as breaking with other peoples, he says, that is mixing up meanings. Independence is merely a greater degree of freedom; not the separation, but the redistribution of powers, the democratic renewal of Union structures. That is how President Gorbachev sees the new Union, of course, given the full and unrestricted sovereignty of all its members.

Not very long ago, for most people, both here and in the West, the question of the forms of state structure was an academic one. We had a Union, and this was natural for everyone. Today the question of the Union has acquired practical significance. It is indeed a topical matter. It affects our lives, but to no less an extent it affects the surrounding world. Where arguments are still raging about this here, the West is most firmly coming out in favor of the Union. [end recording]

Independence Stirs Questions on Union's Future

PM0512112591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Dec 91 Union Edition p 2

[Otto Latsis report: "What Has Changed? What Has Remained?"]

[Text] The Ukraine has voted for independence. It voted in the way that was to be expected, because you will scarcely find a people in the world voting against their independence. However, despite the utter predictability of the result, it has to be seen as historic and you have to ask yourself the question: What, then, is happening on the territory of the former USSR?

Opinions do differ here. However, one extreme view goes that nothing in particular has changed and that the Ukraine's independence will have no impact at all on its relations with the reublics of the former USSR. Another extreme holds that this marks the end of the Union, because what kind of Union do you have without the Ukraine!

Can either standpoint be confirmed with benefit of oracular foresight? Or does a third standpoint have to be devised? I would not wish to choose any of these positions, because no one knows what the future will bring. But what exists now is known precisely. There are millions of Russians living in the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and other republics. There are millions of Ukrainians, Belorussians, Kazakhs, Uzbeks, and people of other nations living outside their own republics. There are millions of mixed marriages and millions of people who in general find it difficult to ascribe themselves to a single nation—two and sometimes three nations have now become their own. There is an interweaving of great cultures. There is the ages-old common destiny of Slav, and not just Slav, peoples inhabiting the area from the Baltic and the Black Sea to the Pacific Ocean. There is the strategic defense potential, and any attempt to divide it up would be tantamount to suicide, with dire consequences (for the whole world). There are economic ties, whose rending would also be like committing suicide, albeit of a different kind.

Each of the peoples belonging to this community has in one way or another clearly expressed its will in recent years: They will no longer tolerate coercion or lack of freedom. Does that suffice for complete happiness? Certainly not. But after decades of crude suppression of the national principle, it may be impossible to embark on a new path other than by the self-assertion of every people.

And then life will inevitably call to mind other concerns and other needs which can and must be satisfied without detriment to the need for sovereignty. Life will help us understand that our community is able to exist not only under the kind of system of procedures whereby a muzzle is clamped on anyone who thinks differently from "us." Life will help us understand something else: that to improve the house you live in you do not have to demolish it completely. Life will help us find reliable restructuring criteria, paramount among which, in my view, should be the following: Do everything in such a way that all the people inhabiting the states of the former Union live better rather than worse.

Only the actual peoples of those states will be able to do so—the way they wish. That is why I do not want today to rack my brains over the details of the future structure of our society—what it will be and how things will be under it. It will be the way we want it to be, the way we agree among ourselves it will be. It is absolutely essential to say today that, first, we congratulate the inhabitants of Kazakhstan and the Ukraine on their choice, and we congratulate Presidents Nursultan Nazarbayev and Leonid Kravchuk; and, second, that now, when the election campaign for these two sovereign states is behind us, there is every opportunity to start negotiating a civilized system of life in our new community.

Crimean Ukrainians Oppose Secession

AU0412173391 Kiev HOLOS in Ukrainian No. 23, 13 November 91 p 3

[Commentary by M. Zhukov: "'Sovereign' Rayons of Autonomous Crimea"]

[Text] An organizing group that will struggle for the creation of an autonomous Syvash Region has emerged in the Crimean Krasnoperekopsky Rayon. The point is that its territory formerly belonged to the Kherson economic zone. The majority of the population in this region is Ukrainain and its slogan is as follows: "If a referendum is held with regard to the secession of the Crimea from the Ukraine, we will not take part in the referendum and will demand that the rayon be added to Kherson Oblast."

In the Rozdolnenskiy and Pervomayskiy Rayons of the Crimea, the collection of signatures has begun in order to guarantee that, if the Crimea secedes from the Ukraine, those regions that are largely populated by Ukrainians will be added to Kherson Oblast. In Krasnoperekopskiy Rayon, this campaign is led by Kunitsyn, chairman of the Rayon Council and a Ukrainian people's deputy, and also by chairmen of collective and state farms. It is now, perhaps, the turn of other rural rayons of the Crimea—they are populated by Ukrainians that were once brought to the southern shore after the deportation of the Crimean Tatars.

Presidium Statement on Grenade Incident

LD0412202791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1510 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Text] Kiev, 3 Dec (UKRINFORM-TASS)—Two grenades were placed at the city synagogue in Kiev by unknown persons on 1 December during the Jewish festival of Hanukkah. It is only by good fortune that nobody was injured.

In connection with this, the Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet issued a statement saying that this provocation has far-reaching plans: to sow interethnic discord between the Ukrainian and Jewish peoples.

The Presidium of the parliament states that such actions are against the interests of the people of the Ukraine and that criminals must be brought to justice according to the law.

New Sumy Oblast Leader Named

LD0512050791 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Summary] The new head of the Sumy Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies is Anatoliy Dmytrovych Bondarenko. His deputy is Valeriy Ivanovych Borzunov, a Russian.

Nationalities Congress Outlines Goals

AU0412120891 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian No. 34 (39), November 91 pp 1,2

[Unattributed report on the "All-Ukrainian Interethnic Congress" and commentary by O.Z. Burakovskyy, deputy chairman of the Organizing Committee and chairman of the Nationalities Council of the Ukrainian People's Rukh]

[Text] **On 16 and 17 November, the First All-Ukrainian Interethnic Congress will be held in the Odessa Academic Opera and Ballet Theater. It will discuss the problems of revival of national cultures in the Ukraine. The congress will be held on the initiative of the Ukrainian Supreme Council Commission for Questions of State Sovereignty and Interrepublican and Interethnic Relations, the republic's Cabinet of Ministers Committee for Nationalities Issues, and the Council of Nations of the Ukrainian People's Movement [Rukh]. M.M. Horyn is the chairman of the organizing committee of the congress.**

By its resolution, the Cabinet of Ministers allocated 70,000 rubles from its reserve fund to finance this undertaking and called upon the Council of Ministers of the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, oblast executive committees, and the Kiev and Sevastopol city executive committees, as well as all national societies active in the republic, irrespective of their denomination, to send delegations to the congress.

O.Z. Burakovskyy, deputy chairman of the organizing committee and chairman of the Nationalities Council of the Ukrainian People's Rukh, comments upon this large-scale undertaking:

—The purpose of the congress is to discuss the problems of restoration and further development of cultures, languages, and popular traditions of all national minorities residing in the Ukraine. We must firmly declare on the eve of the referendum that the Ukrainian state will guarantee full freedom for the development of all ethnic groups residing on its territory and that the Act of Independence will not in any way lead to human rights violations.

The organizing committee specified representation quotas for delegates from oblasts and national-cultural communities in such a way that every oblast will be represented by seven delegates from all ethnic communities regardless of their denomination. There are over 100 of them in the Ukraine, and, therefore, the meeting will be quite crowded—about 1,000 delegates and guests from fraternal republics and from abroad.

Socialist Party Registered; Member Interviewed

LD3011190691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1300 GMT 29 Nov 91

["Television News Service" interview with A.N. Melnik, member of the Ukraine Socialist Party Political Soviet, by unidentified correspondent on newly emerged party's future;—recorded]

[Text] Another party, the Socialist Party, has been registered in the Ukraine. Its objective is to uphold the slogans "All power to the soviets," and "Factories for the workers, land for the peasants."

[Unidentified correspondent] How does your party see the future of the Ukraine ?

[Melnik] The party sees the future of the Ukraine as a socialist state, a socialist state in a union with other socialist states of the former Soviet Union. In the social context the composition of the party reflects the most varied sections of society, from the younger generation to pensioners-veterans. Certain, so to speak, zealous journalists accuse us of gravitating toward veterans and people of older years. Yes, we orientate toward veterans, we orientate toward young people, we orientate toward the working class, toward people who are less protected today in their daily lives, at home and in general.

[Correspondent] But is it right to say that the members of your party are former communists ?

[Melnik] This cannot be said categorically, although there are many former communists in the party, people who are faithful to the socialist idea. However, there are many people who have not been in any party but who believe that the socialist idea is the idea which today suits our republic most of all, if one wants to speak about it specifically.

Further on Party

PM0212114591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Nov 91 p 1

[Report from PRAVDA, TASS, INTERFAX roundup under general heading: "Rhythm of the Day"]

[Text] The Socialist Party of the Ukraine [SPU] was registered at the Ukrainian Ministry of Justice yesterday. Its ranks, comprising mostly former Communists, already number around 60,000. Party Chairman A. Moroz declared that the SPU will employ only parliamentary methods in its activities. The Socialist Party regards the trade unions as its main ally in the struggle for social justice.

Policy on Coal Deliveries Explained

AU0512095291 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian No. 33 (38), November 91 p 1

[Commentary and interview with Dmytro Dmytrovych Nikolayev by V. Severin: "Evil Words Will Not Warm Anybody"]

[Text] Central Television has added yet another touch to the manifestations of the biased attitude toward the policy of the independent Ukraine that have lately been increasingly incited by the central mass media. Recently, an evening information program carried a statement that concerned many people. It was declared nationwide that the Donbass had suspended its coal deliveries to St.

Petersburg, and this on the eve of winter and to the city that has suffered so much in the course of its history.

The hidden motives behind such statements, like those of many others in the same vein, can be seen through like black with white: Behold these independence seekers ["samostiynyky"] and their ways. What can one expect from their independence?

People are making phone calls to the editorial board and asking us to clarify the situation for them. We have decided that it would be best of all if this is done by Dmytro Dmytrovych Nikolayev, general director of the "UKRVUHLEZBUT." We are giving him the floor.

[Nikolayev] Today, one can only raise the question regarding coal if one is familiar with the situation in the industry and possesses all the necessary data. It appears that Central Television cannot claim to have this knowledge or, otherwise, it would talk of something else. Perhaps, it deliberately complicates a situation that is already complicated enough. The known events [strikes] in coal-mining regions had a negative effect upon the industry, and we are still suffering from them. For example, it was planned to extract 156,130,000 tonnes of coal this year. This level will not be attained, because even now the plan is being fulfilled by only 75 percent. The mines have so far produced 23,503,000 tonnes of coal less. Of course, all of this affects our so-called coal policy.

Incidentally, all our clients, including St. Petersburg, were notified about the state of affairs and about possible shortfalls in deliveries beforehand. We let them know about this in order to give them a chance to look for a way out; we did not want to suddenly overwhelm them with the fact.

Even under such conditions, we are maintaining our deliveries at the level of 67.5 percent. Incidentally, the Ukraine also imports 16 million tonnes of coal from other regions, but our suppliers cannot claim to be fulfilling their contracts like we do. By way of example, in October, the Kuzbass fulfilled its obligations by only 11.9 percent.

At the same time, demands are being placed upon us to guarantee the fulfillment of the plan in full. But from what resources? Will you also explain to me what kind of host leaves his house cold and gives everything to his neighbors? He will share with others what he can. This is precisely what we are doing.

[Severin] What is the situation with regard to coal reserves in the Ukraine? Will we spend this winter in warm homes?

[Nikolayev] The situation is difficult as it is everywhere. We are also affected by the reduced volumes of coal extraction. Its reserves at coke-oven plants may only last for 24 hours, and its supply to electric power plants has decreased by 4 million tonnes compared with the last year's level.

We are now keeping our fuel depots, storing coal for the needs of the population, under special control. Despite all the difficulties, the reserves of coal that are stored there constitute 93 percent of last year's level. This means that the population will not suffer any significant hardships.

Armenia

Official Wants UN Troops in Nagorno-Karabakh

LD0412155391 Moscow TASS in English 1518 GMT 4 Dec 91

[By correspondent Sergey Batyrev]

[Text] Paris December 4 TASS—Raffi Ovanesyan, Armenian acting foreign minister now on a visit in France, has spoken in favour of sending immediately U.N. troops to Nagorno-Karabakh. Speaking on Tuesday [3 December] after a meeting with French Minister of Culture Jack Lang, he urged the world community to pay attention to this problem, because "it is quite probable that there will be no Armenian population in Nagorno-Karabakh tomorrow."

According to Ovanesyan, "the Soviet Union has died together with the putsch," but there remains hope of transforming it into a "European Economic Community without any political centre." In this case Armenia would be glad to take part in it, he added.

According to Ovanesyan, Armenia intends to recognise Ukraine's independence. Preparations are under way now to conclude cooperation treaties between Armenia and Russia and between Armenia and Ukraine.

The talks in Paris focused on the development of cultural cooperation between Armenia and France. Agreement was reached on the organisation of the large exhibition "Armenia and France" at the French National Library in 1994 and of a retrospective showing of Armenian films at the Georges Pompidou Centre of Modern Art in 1993. It is also planned to organise practical training in France of young cultural personalities from Armenia, while French experts will go to Armenia to render assistance in implementing cultural reform.

Unemployment Benefits Program Established

LD0512052591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Text] Citizens of Armenia have the exclusive right to manage their work abilities when performing any activity. This provision has been enshrined by a law on employment adopted by the parliament of Armenia. The existence of unemployment is officially recognized. The unemployed will be paid a benefit which will amount to 75 percent of their salaries in their last main place of work. However, the total period during which the benefit will be paid will not exceed 40 weeks. According to some information, there are over 200,000 people out of work in Armenia now.

Azerbaijan

Leader Stresses National Security

LD0412201491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0802 GMT 3 Dec 91

[By AZERINFORM-TASS correspondent Natan Barskiy]

[Text] Baku, 3 Dec (TASS)—"The protection of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the republic and guaranteeing the constitutional rights of Azerbaijan's citizens depends to a large extent on a high level of professionalism and civic awareness and a wish to be of use to the homeland from each employee of the ministry." At a meeting with a collective of the recently formed ministry of national security, this is how Azerbaijani President Ayaz Mutalibov evaluated the importance of the work of employees of the new republic ministry that has replaced the former KGB.

Dwelling on the importance of the creation of a concept of national security, the president stressed that this concept must be the basis for further activities of the ministry of national security.

More on Iranian Foreign Minister's Visit

OW0412143791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1235 GMT 4 Dec 91

["Bulletin 1" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati had a meeting with President Ayaz Mutalibov of Azerbaijan in Baku yesterday, during which he suggested setting up Azerbaijani-Iranian joint ventures to develop oil and gas fields in the Caspian.

Both sides expressed interest in the opening of flights between Tehran and Baku via Tebriz and sea lines between Enzeli (an Iranian port on the Caspian) and Baku.

Mr. Velayati and Mr. Mutalibov reached an agreement on the opening of a branch of one of the Iranian banks in Baku and on the creation of reliable television, radio, and telephone communications systems between Baku and Tehran.

Mr. Velayati refuted the recent report in Izvestiya to the effect that Iran was unwilling to recognize the independence of Azerbaijan.

Iran To Help Build Rail Link

LD0412182891 Moscow TASS in English 0831 GMT 4 Dec 91

[By AZERINFORM-TASS correspondent Khalil Imanov]

[Text] Baku December 4 TASS—Iran will help Azerbaijan to build a rail link to connect it with the Nakhichevan republic dependency separated from Azerbaijan by Armenia. The railway will pass through Iranian territory.

The deal is set out in an agreement on cooperation signed by Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akhbar Velayati during his trip to neighbouring Azerbaijan.

A major Iranian bank will open an office in Baku in the near future, Gasan Gasanov, prime minister of Azerbaijan, told reporters after the signing of the agreement.

He added that Iran intends to promote Azerbaijan's joining the organisation of economic cooperation uniting Iran, Turkey and Pakistan.

Velayati's Departure Reported

NC0512113091 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 2050 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Text] As reported earlier, Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati and his delegation visited the graves of the martyrs who sacrificed their lives for our homeland's freedom. Velayati and his delegation observed a minute of silence in memory of the martyrs. The Iranian delegation later visited an exhibition of products from firms in the eastern provinces of Iranian Azerbaijan. The exhibition is being held in Baku.

The Iranian delegation held talks at the state university in Baku, which is named after Mamed Ali Resul-zade. Velayati and his delegation visited the [name indistinct] mosque and then held talks with Shaykh-ul-Islam Allakhshukyur Pasha-zade at the administrative board of the Muslims in the Caucasus. A memorandum was signed between Azerbaijan and the Islamic Republic of Iran at Gulistan Palace during the second half of the day. Gasan Gasanov, chairman of the Azerbaijan Council of Ministers, and Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati signed the memorandum.

The Iranian delegation left Azerbaijan today for Tehran.

Leader Meets Norwegian Firm Representatives

NC0512103191 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Text] President Ayaz Mutalibov on 3 December received (Grigori Lishanskin), president of the Norwegian companies group in Austria and Switzerland; the leading officials of several firms affiliated with this group; and Dzhabrail M. Guseynov, Norway's plenipotentiary representative in Azerbaijan. (Lishanskiy) explained to President Mutalibov the group's long-range proposals on organizing long-term investments; the assistance which can be given Azerbaijan to privatize property and to change the privatization laws; the establishment of Azerbaijan's trade offices within the framework of the Norwegian group; the long-term supply of provisions, pharmaceutical drugs, and industrial products to the Azerbaijani people; and the organization of efforts to hold conferences and [words indistinct].

(Lishanskiy) requested that the possibility of opening [words indistinct] in Azerbaijan be examined, meetings be held between Azerbaijan and the investing firms in Western countries, and a decision be adopted to facilitate the opening of a Norwegian firm's branch in the republic. Similar branches are operating in a number of the sovereign republics at present.

President Mutalibov informed his guests that he is prepared to discuss all this and move to carry out concrete work as soon as possible.

Four Killed in Missile Attack in NKAO

OW0412141691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1235 GMT 4 Dec 91

["Bulletin 1" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Four people were killed and seven wounded in a missile attack on Stepanakert, Nagorno-Karabakh, in the small hours today. The Alazan missiles were fired from the area of the Azerbaijani-speaking town of Shusha.

Kurdish Group Issues Appeal

LD0412144891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Text] The All-Union Center for Kurdish Culture has issued a statement expressing profound concern over the development of events in Nagorno-Karabakh. The document says the situation has reached a crisis point as the conflict threatens to grow into a large-scale clash between Azerbaijan and Armenia and drag citizens of all nationalities, including Kurds living in the region.

The statement contains an appeal to the leader of Azerbaijan and Armenia to do all they can to halt further escalation of the conflict, stop the bloodshed, and renew the joint quest for a solution to the crisis.

Afghanistan To Return Prisoners of War

PM0412131391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Dec 91 First Edition p 2

[RIA report under the rubric "Diary, Events, Opinions": "Prisoners Will Be Returned"]

[Text] Azerbaijanis taken prisoner during the war in Afghanistan will be sent back home unconditionally. Your RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY correspondent was told this on 29 November by Shaykh ul-Islam Allakhshukyur Pasha-zade [name as transliterated], spiritual leader of the Caucasian Muslims. He has just returned from Islamabad where he headed an Azerbaijani delegation at the united Islamic conference.

Georgia

Military Given Right To Return Fire

LD0512033791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1225 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow, 4 Dec (TASS)—The military council of the Transcaucasian Military District has decided to place all of their road transportation operations under armed guard, giving them the right "to open fire under manifest attack." This is stated in a message from Colonel General Valeriy Patrikeyev, commander of the Transcaucasus Military District, to the president and leadership of the Republic of Georgia and its people, which has been disseminated here today by the district press center. The servicemen, the general emphasizes, "have no other way of defending their honor and dignity and state property or making a suitable response to unbridled extremists."

The message notes that armed attacks on servicemen and military installations to seize weapons and motorized equipment have become more frequent in the republic. On 2 December in Tbilisi alone, eight motor vehicles of various types were taken. There is a real threat to the lives and safety of servicemen and members of their families. This obliges the District Command to take decisive measures to protect military garrisons and installations, equipment, and cargoes.

The military wants to live in peace, friendship, and accord with the Georgians and representatives of other peoples settled in the republic and to resolve all matters in a civilized way, the message stresses. At the same time, there has been no response to repeated requests from the District Command for order and for the lawlessness to end. In the commander's words, the leadership of the republic and its law enforcement bodies are hedging on the just demands of the military with "purposely unacceptable conditions and are pushing the solution of the problems which have arisen into deadlock."

'Guerrilla Troops' 'Massing' Around Tskhinvali

LD0412145991 Moscow TASS in English 1424 GMT 4 Dec 91

[By correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz December 4 TASS—Guerrillas fired last night on houses, industrial facilities and Soviet Interior Ministry checkpoints in Znaur District and the outskirts of Tskhinvali, injuring seven people, the press centre of the South Ossetian information committee said.

The centre said about 20,000 guerrilla troops are massing around the city. Armoured vehicles, hail guns "alazan" and artillery pieces continue to arrive in the city.

Guerrillas have blocked all main roads into Tskhinvali, including the highway connecting it with Dzhava, hindering humanitarian aid reaching the town from Vladikavkaz.

Several clashes between Georgian and Ossetian guerrillas were reported in Tskhinvali and Znaur districts last night. Twelve people were severely wounded, the centre said.

The situation became particularly aggravated in South Ossetia after Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia denounced the resumption of a South Ossetian parliamentary session as illegal.

Union Forces Under Republic Jurisdiction

LD0512035991 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1200 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Text] A decision by the Georgian Supreme Soviet instructs the republic's Cabinet of Ministers to begin talks with the relevant bodies of state power of the USSR on the withdrawal from Georgian soil of units of the Soviet Army, the Border and Internal Troops, and Naval Forces. Until the complete withdrawal of these troop formations, it has been decided to bring them under the overall jurisdiction of the Republic of Georgia.

Deadline for Armed Formations Legalization

LD0512043491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1400 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Text] A session of the Supreme Soviet of Georgia has passed a decision on the illegal armed formations on the republic's territory. A deadline of 10 December has been set by which time these formations must be legalized. Otherwise, criminal proceedings will be instituted.

Meanwhile, on the night of 3 December, rebel guards from Kitovani's detachments carried out an attack on a base belonging to the presidential guards and disarmed them.

National Accord, Defense Committee Created

AU0412162791 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Russian 1533 GMT 4 December 91

[Text] The meeting of the organizing group for the creation of the Committee of National Accord and Defense of the Territorial Integrity of the Republic of Georgia was held under the chairmanship of Tamaz (?Nodariashvili), Republic of Georgia Supreme Council deputy. Organizational questions, the draft program, and the statutes of the committee were discussed. The committee will include leaders of all Georgian political parties and public organizations of the city, [word indistinct], and administrative personnel. Any person, irrespective of his nationality, who resides on the territory of the Republic of Georgia, may become a member of this committee. He must advocate the full economic and political independence of Georgia and the maintenance of its territorial integrity. Georgian Supreme Council Deputy Tamaz (?Nodariashvili) was elected chairman of the committee.

Opposition Calls For State System Referendum

OW0512002291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1313 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The opposition faction CHARTER-91 has urged the Georgian Supreme Soviet to consider a set of stabilization measures.

The latter includes holding a referendum for the people to choose a state system and a government themselves, re-electing parliament before the term of office of the present one expires, and having all political groups in Georgia declare civil peace.

The authors suggest suspending mass rallies and demonstrations in return for the government's consent to reinstate the law on political associations, legalize the opposition parties and offer the opposition air time on republican radio and TV to propagate their views.

CHARTER-91 insists on setting up an ethnic minorities council imbued with legislative powers.

Kazakhstan

President To Embark on 'Sweeping' Changes

LD0412140191 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1300 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Text] The generally elected president of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbayev, intends to take a number of sweeping decisions as early as this month to ensure an immediate advance of the economic reform to a market. One of them, he said, is the already prepared draft law on strengthening executive power in the transitional period. Officials appointed by the president will represent supreme executive power in 15 regions of the republic. The president believes that his number one task is the social protection of the people in Kazakhstan and first of all those having low income. Nursultan Nazarbayev, for whom the overwhelming majority of the voters cast their ballots, stands for the real sovereignty of Kazakhstan, for national accord, and for the Union of Sovereign States.

Kyrgyzstan

Interior Ministry To Investigate Isanov Death

OW0412212391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2030 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Interior Ministry of the Kyrgyzstan republic had not been notified of the route taken by Prime Minister Nasirdin Isanov and therefore had taken no safety measures in advance. That was revealed by the Interior Ministry's senior officials at Wednesday's [4 December] press-conference devoted to the tragic death of N. Isanov Nov 29.

N. Isanov was making a tour of the republic with representatives of the SEABECO company. On Nov 29 morning he was to have flown to Bishkek by helicopter, but the flight was called off due to weather conditions. It was decided to go by car.

On the road a ZIL-133 truck coming the other way disobeyed the command by traffic police to stop and tried to pass the vehicles in front. In doing that it got into the left side of the road and hit N. Isanov's Volga on the side, behind the driver's seat.

It was announced at the press-conference that an operative group of the Kyrgystan Prosecutor's office will investigate the case and establish whether it was an accident or a deliberate collision.

Tajikistan

Nabiyev Says Republic To Sign Union Treaty

LD0412154791 Moscow TASS in English 1519 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Text] Dushanbe December 4 TASS—The president of the Soviet Central Asian republic of Tajikistan has said he is all in favour of the new Union treaty and will sign it soon.

"The people of Tajikistan remains devoted to the idea of creating a new confederative state on a democratic basis, and come out for signing a Union treaty as soon as possible, provided the sovereign republics are ensured genuine independence", Rakhmon Nabiyev, president of Tajikistan told TASS today, speaking in support of Mikhail Gorbachev's appeal to parliamentarians of the country.

Nabiyev is convinced the republics should not break off the ties established over decades. He considers it necessary to consolidate the efforts of all republics in search of a way out of the present political, socio-economic and inter-ethnic crisis.

Turkmenia

Talks With Turkey Concluded, Documents Signed

LD0512051691 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1630 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Text] Official talks by a delegation from Turkmenistan led by the republic's president, Niyazov, have ended in Ankara. Our correspondent Anatoliy Krivitskiy reports from Turkey:

[Krivitskiy] As the result of talks, three important documents have been agreed upon and signed, namely, an agreement on friendship and cooperation between Turkmenistan and Turkey, an agreement on economic and trade cooperation between the two republics and a protocol on the agreements.

To develop bilateral relations in various areas, an agreement has been reached on reciprocal opening of consulates-general and cultural centers. A decision on setting up a joint business council was also adopted.

In accordance with the signed documents Turkmenistan and Turkey will focus special attention on setting up joint enterprises in transportation, communications, television communications and tourism, and to problems of developing and using raw material and energy-bearing deposits for the oil, chemical and gas industries. All payments will be made on the basis of settlements in freely convertible currency.

Speaking after the signing of the agreement, Turkey's President Turgut Ozal said the talks with the Turkmenistan delegation in Ankara were conducted in a sincere and friendly atmosphere and were very useful. The documents signed laid the basis and mapped out the goals of mutally beneficial cooperation between the two republics. They will facilitate the development and the strengthening of our relations in all spheres. He said Turkey agreed to help Turkmenistan transfer its economy onto the rails of a free market.

Uzbekistan

Karimov Decrees Privatization of Farming

LD0512023291 Moscow TASS in English 1333 GMT 4 Dec 91

[By UZTAG correspondent Irina Grebenyuk]

[Text] Tashkent December 4 TASS—Uzbek President Islam Karimov signed a decree today which will allow free enterprise in the Asian republic's farming sector. The decree will allow farmers to lease land on an individual basis. Uzbekistan's cash crop is cotton.

The decree stipulates the creation of a land fund to spur development, but at the expense of a reduction in cotton crop plot size.

The two million roubles needed to establish a business support fund will come from the cabinet of ministers' reserves.

Each lease term will be ten years with the option to extend. For the first two years, the farming sector and cotton industry free enterprises will be exempt from taxes on their profits.

Karimov Receives ROK Ambassador to Union

LD0512042591 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1630 GMT 4 Dec 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] Today in Tashkent, Uzbekistan President Karimov received Mr Kong No-myong, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Korea to the USSR. Our special correspondent reports from Tashkent:

[Correspondent] In his conversation with Mr Kong No-myong, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the USSR, Uzbekistan President Islam Karimov expressed the hope that the meeting would mark the beginning of direct diplomatic relations between the now-independent Uzbekistan and South Korea. Bearing in mind that over 200,000 Koreans live here, in the republic, the head of the Government of Uzbekistan referred to cultural and economic cooperation between the two states as a matter of priority. It will certainly provide not only a unique opportunity for bilateral contacts and for broadening ties between Koreans living here and their compatriots in Seoul, but also specific results in trade and economic relations. The establishment of several South Korean banks and firms in Tashkent in the near future was proposed.

For his part, the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Korea expressed interest in the development of multilateral ties with the Republic of Uzbekistan and handed President Karimov an official invitation from his government to visit Korea in February next year.

[Begin Kong No-myong recording in Korean with superimposed Russian translation] My visit here is connected primarily with our wish to establish close business contacts with Uzbekistan and to find new ways of cooperating with a now-independent republic of the former Union. [end recording]

Delegation Meets Afghan Transport Minister

LD0412232291 Kabul Radio Afghanistan Network in Pashto 1530 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Text] In his office this morning, Minister of Transport Khalilollah met a high-ranking delegation from the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic headed by Uzbek Transport Minister Lerik Akhmetovich Akhmetov. The delegation is paying a working visit to Afghanistan. In the talks, at which Transport Ministry officials were present, the two sides discussed the further strengthening of transport cooperation between Afghanistan and Uzbekistan.

The Uzbek delegation laid a wreath at the tomb of those drivers who have been martyred in the service of the people. Along with the transport minister, the delegation also visited Haulage Corporation's technical and maintenance [words indistinct], where officials furnished them with information.